HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Aftermath of the Riots

Can We Reunite the Country?

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

The day after Martin Luther King's murder, a young Negro girl skipped gaily past the White House, waving a bright blouse and shouting to the guards: "I stole this. Shoot me! Shoot me!"

The sad fact is that someday soon someone must shoot her, or a system of chaos, terror and economic paralysis will fasten itself on this great and beautiful country.

America cannot operate if any person can loot a store, confident that there will be no reprisal as long as he or she can outrun a middle-aged cop.

Nor can the country operate long under a system of legislative blackmail. When such a normally level-headed citizen as Whitney Young, head of the Urban League, indicates that the country can expect nothing but flames unless Congress passes a packet of additional civil rights legislation, this becomes government-by-torch.

When the extremely unfunny Negro comedian, Dick Gregory, makes out a list of "Black Power" demands and asserts that until all are met the Democratic party may not meet peaceably in Chicago an absolutely basic and fundamental civil right, that of citizens to gather together to choose political candidates, is threatened.

Martin Luther King falls before the bullet of a cowardly, hidden sharpshooter. This is an outrage. A young white boy in Tallahassee suffocates after a firebomb is thrown into his father's store. This is an outrage. A white Pittsburgh steel worker on his way to the mill is dropped by a sniper. This is an outrage. A Negro baby in Chicago dies in its crib as the building burns. This is an outrage.

Americans cannot afford to think about black outrages or white outrages. We must get deep-down mad about outrages—period.

One of the worst features of the wild

The siege of Washington under way; in the background can be seen the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial.

days following the King assassination was the refusal of many leading politicians to call things by their right names. When Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant erupted in an orgy of looting, New York Mayor John Lindsay described these districts as "up tight."

"Up tight" is hippie for "nervous" or "distraught." When the mayor of a great city pretends skylarking gangs who clean out liquor stores and bear off television sets are prostrated with grief, he passes beyond credibility. There is a difference between kneeling down to pray and busting in to prey.

This country is on the threshold of a vicious reaction. A double standard of law, in which the people of one race are required to obey laws while the people of another race may ignore them if they choose, only works if those doing the ignoring are in the majority.

This was the great evil of the Old South—the repression of Negroes by laws unfairly administered by the majority. It gave rise to the civil rights movement. Civil rights implied a just demand for equal treatment under law.

But the Negro militants are re-embracing the unequal treatment theory with the proviso that their own leadership now assume the ancient role of the lynchers and night riders. Stokely Carmichael's shoot-the-honkies bit is old-fashioned Klansmanism.

This is unspeakable, of course. But, worse, it is suicidal. If America should ever descend into total race warfare, there's not the slightest doubt about which side would win. But who wants that kind of America?

This country might take one more "long, hot summer." But not another. If the police and the National Guard ever really lost control, there would arise informal white armies. Vigilante law is effective—make no mistake about it. It is just not dainty about the difference between the innocent and guilty.

And then—as the heat lightning turned into thunderbolts—a lot of important things would be forgotten.

Most Americans would forget those thousands of Negroes, once barred from white-collar employment, who are doing splendidly in responsible jobs. They would forget those young Negro students who are laboring at their books instead of camping in the hallways.

In the fury at the senseless burning, looting and killing it would be easy to forget that the road to justice was unfinished and that many legitimate Negro demands for widened opportunities and improved education had been unfulfilled.

The shooting of Martin Luther King was a grave setback. The idiotic reaction, involving a carnival of irresponsibility, was graver still. We can recover yet—but only if we start calling things by their right names.

Looting is not anguish—it's robbery. The sniper is not a redresser of balances—only a murderer. And to injure a man you never saw because a man of his race injured a man of your race is criminal bigotry.

It's just that simple.

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Government investigators believe that those so-called "**spontaneous**" **outbursts** of arson and vandalism following Martin Luther King's murder may not have been so spontaneous after all. Revolutionary black nationalist elements are believed to have been responsible for much of the havoc suffered by cities across the nation. During the riots in Washington, D.C., for example, police raided a Molotov cocktail "factory" on 7th Street, N.W., in the heart of the city's firebombed Negro section.

● Chicago provided another reason it is believed that **black power conspirators**, at least on a local level, play a vital part in spreading destruction in the cities. Four men, including two leaders of "Black Power" organizations, were recently arrested in the Windy City on charges of burning four buildings during weekend riots on the west side. The man who blew the whistle on them was a detective who had penetrated a "Black Power" organization and took part in the plotting.

● Two members of an **Ad Hoc Committee to Free Rap Brown** were arrested by Delaware state police last week on charges of carrying concealed weapons. The two—leaders of Brooklyn (N.Y.) CORE—had in their possession a 30-30 caliber rifle, 30 rounds of ammunition and a knife, according to police. They were on their way to demand Maryland Gov. Spiro Agnew free Brown, under indictment for inciting to riot in Cambridge, Md.

● The Rev. **Ralph D. Abernathy**, new leader of Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, has vowed to continue stronger and more militant demonstrations despite continuing outbreaks of violence in cities throughout the country. Abernathy promises to carry on King's "Poor People's March" on Washington which King envisioned as including hundreds of thousands of demonstrators who would tie up local traffic if Congress didn't pass a new $20-billion-a-year program for the poor.

● **George Wallace**, say politicos, may be the greatest beneficiary from the "open housing" legislation passed last week. Wallace can now truthfully say that he is the only major candidate around who opposed this new federal restriction on private property rights.

● **Richard Nixon**, on the other hand, has already lost some extremely important support in the Southern states because of his vigorous advocacy of the "open housing" measure and his lobbying for its passage in Congress. A number of politicos are appalled that both Nixon and many other GOP legislators supported the "open housing" provision, even though it had received little debate and almost no hearings in either the Senate or the House. (*For the full House rollcall, see page 15.*)

● The film "U.S." shown at the **official United States pavilion** at San Antonio's Hemisfair '68 has shocked a number of viewers, including Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson. The film reveals only the seamier side of American life, including nauseatingly polluted rivers, spoiled forests, frightful slums and naked racial prejudice. Spokesmen for the pavilion—a project of the Department of Commerce—refuse to apologize for the film; they say it's just the sort of "sock in the eye" effect Americans need.

● *Seen on Washington autos:* "**Bobby Ain't Jack**" bumper stickers.

● Intelligence sources say that **North Vietnamese troops and equipment** have continued to pour into South Viet Nam in a maximum effort during the 10 days since LBJ announced his curtailment of the northern bombing.

● Here's a major reason AFL-CIO President **George Meany** likes Hubert Humphrey over Bobby Kennedy: Bobby is likely to be far more favorable to the Walter Reuther wing of the labor movement than he is to the Meany wing. When JFK was in office, Meany used to complain about the Kennedys' bias toward Reuther. (For more on Humphrey, see page 7.)

● Bankers in London say look for another **devaluation of the pound** to $2 on May 2.

● Conservatives in the Nation's Capital are distressed over the impending demise (June 13) of the **Reporter magazine**. While the Reporter has consistenly hued to an ADA-ish philosophy on domestic matters, it has just as consistently run realistic and scholarly articles in the field of foreign affairs. Anti-Communists felt the Reporter was one of the few magazines in the country on which one could rely for detailed information on global trouble spots given from a pro-American and anti-Communist point of view. The Reporter, which will be absorbed by Harper's, was said to have lost some of its militant liberal readers and advertisers in recent years because of its anti-Communist stand.

● U.S. intelligence sources say they now fear that Castroite **Cheddi Jagan** may come back to power in the South American country of Guyana.

● Marines dispatched to the Nation's Capital to prevent further rioting appeared more interested in discussing the **Viet Nam war**. The verdict from those who had just come back from Viet Nam: The U.S. could win the war if the politicians would stop interfering with military strategy. The major source of trouble, they contended, was not the Viet Cong but the heavy infiltration of the North Vietnamese across the DMZ.

● LBJ apparently plans to continue using the office of Postmaster General as a payoff to political cronies, while U.S. postal service deteriorates and stamp prices go up. His first appointment to the position was political adviser Larry O'Brien, who spent most of his time either lobbying for Administration bills on Capitol Hill or plotting the Democrats' campaign strategy. Now O'Brien has resigned and LBJ has appointed **Marvin Watson**, reportedly the President's closest political aide, to the Cabinet-level post. At the White House Watson had been LBJ's liaison man with the Democratic party structure across the nation, and under his eagle eye the party organization eroded to such a state that LBJ decided it was not worth it to try for re-election. And now Mr. Watson brings his magic touch to the U.S. mail service.

● Rep. Richard Roudebush (R.-Ind.) last week reported that LBJ has $12 billion in **unexpended foreign aid funds** at his disposal. "And now he wants $3 billion more," Roudebush says. "This is ridiculous."

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The Hasty Rights Bill

"Maybe we should change the elephant emblem to that of a soft pussycat." That was the angry reaction of one Republican lawmaker last week in the wake of the passing of the 1968 civil rights act.

NIXON

This Midwest congressman was actually in sympathy with the aims of much of the bill, but what he strongly objected to was the way in which it was railroaded through the House, the wishy-washy leadership of his own party and the willingness, as he put it, "to surrender to the pressures of the moment" that had been brought about by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King and the subsequent riots.

Equally as distressing, in his opinion, were the actions of the GOP's leading presidential candidate, Richard Nixon, who was personally persuading House lawmakers to line up behind the controversial measure which hadn't ever gone under thorough scrutiny by either the Senate or the House.

"If Dick will cave in under pressure now, what will he do if he gets to the White House?" was his question. "We had been hoping that Dick could resist the heat when the going got rough. We have also been hoping that he would provide what this country sorely needs: firm leadership."

To understand why this Republican is dejected, it is necessary to understand just what it was that Nixon and many other Republicans—both liberal and conservative—were urging their GOP colleagues to do last week. They were not pressuring them to accept the Administration's civil rights bill. Passage of some sort of rights bill was a foregone conclusion. Open housing, itself, was not the real issue, even though it figured in the maneuverings.

The central issue was that these Republicans—in the wake of violent events—were pressing members of their own party to willy-nilly accept the Senate-passed rights bill with all its controversial provisions and without any proper House consideration.

Consider the legislative history. The House last year had passed HR 2516 which dealt largely with the protection of civil rights workers. The Senate then proceeded to rewrite it considerably, adding many important amendments on the floor that had never been subjected to committee hearings.

Among these added amendments was the controversial open housing section which many believe is not only unconstitutional but badly drawn legislation which dangerously jeopardizes private property rights.

This provision, it is thought by many, will provide the federal government with enormous opportunity for harassment of private individuals. Even some lawmakers who think federal legislation in this area is necessary are fearful of the present legislation, especially since it will be administered by zealous government officials.

But there were other significant amendments added, such as a Bill of Rights for Indians, a gun-control law and an anti-riot section—each in much dispute.

The Senate had made other crucial changes in the House measure as well. Rep. John Ashbrook (R.-Ohio) pointed out that the House version of HR2516 provided that a person who was protected from "interference with federally protected activities" had to be acting "lawfully." But the Senate struck the word "lawfully" and the measure may now actually bestow federal protection on those acting in an illegal manner.

The Senate bill, noted Ashbrook, added the House-passed anti-riot measure to HR 2516, but "eliminated organized labor activities from the anti-riot section. This particular effort was also made in the House but was voted down decisively. Now we are asked to yield in the vital area where we have already worked our will."

With such a radical changing of the House-passed civil rights bill, the House, if it was not to abdicate its legislative responsiblity, should, at the very least, have insisted on a conference.

Normally when the Senate and the House pass different versions of a single bill, the bill goes to a conference composed of members of both legislative bodies who customarily work out a compromise. Through the conference procedure, the House would have been able to alter the Senate-passed bill and put back some of the House provisions dropped by the Senate.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

But this is exactly what the House did not do. The conference route was circumvented.

The Democratic-controlled Rules Committee permitted the House to vote only on whether to accept or reject the Senate amendments without change and with only one hour of debate. And this ploy was apparently acceptable not only to Democrats, but also to a number of Republicans, including Nixon.

This crucial motion (see rollcall, page 15) passed the House 229 to 195 and it was this vote which prevented any chance for amending the drastic Senate bill.

It appears clear from the record that many of those Republicans who voted to accept the Senate amendments without question were panicked into doing so by the rioting and the murder of Dr. King.

Addressing himself to this point, Rep. William Bray (R.-Ind.) made this pertinent observation. "To pass the bill because of riots—past, present and future—is nothing less than legislative blackmail." Bray went on to point out that soon there are to be demonstrations in Washington for economic as well as racial "justice." And the question arises: will the majority of Democrats and a minority of Republicans join together to say that these demands must also be met without debate lest there be violence?

Demo Heads Rocky Campaign

The New York *Times* revealed last week that Gov. Nelson Rockefeller had hired Emmet John Hughes, the pompously self-righteous *Newsweek* columnist, to head up "an unannounced campaign for the Republican presidential nomination." Sources close to Rocky, said the *Times*, stated that Rockefeller "was available for the nomination" and that Hughes was on his team "to help him get it."

HUGHES

The governor, himself, described Hughes as a long-time friend whose duties would include "the broad work of formulating and discussing policies and programs in the months ahead."

What the *Times* didn't print, however, was far more fascinating. For Emmet John Hughes, like Stewart R. Mott, who is heading up another pro-Rocky campaign, is a liberal Democrat. Hughes confessed as much in his 1963 book, *The Ordeal of Power*, a tale of his none-too-successful relationship with former President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

• Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark and the city government of Washington continue to come under harsh criticism for not putting Stokely Carmichael in jail. Carmichael, who helped spark the Washington riots, violated the curfew, brandished his gun in the streets contrary to law and made clearly insurrectionary statements. Still he was not arrested. Last week he told Radio Havana: "It is crystal clear to us [Negroes] that the United States of America must fall in order for humanity to live and we are going to give our lives to that cause." He's still loose.

Hughes boldly expressed his political philosophy (page 11): "I was—and am—of the Generation of the New Deal. Both principles and passions in politics were profoundly affected by all the churning issues of the 1930s, by the contrast then starkly set between the nation's two great political parties, and by the lasting force of the memory of Franklin Roosevelt.

"While accident of age and wartime duty and foreign assignment kept me from voting in any national election until 1952, I would have voted, without exception, until that date, for all Democratic candidates for the presidency. . . .

"In terms of political philosophy, after almost a full decade of life in Europe, I broadly shared the views and spirit of the Christian Democratic Left in Western Europe [i.e., Socialist]. In terms of American politics, I most commonly found myself a comrade, in purpose and temper, of the Democrats—and not the conservatives ones. I still do."

Hughes went to work in 1952 for Ike, he tells his readers, because he felt he had to smash the conservative Taft-wing of the Republican party—not because of any belief in Republican principles.

Though Ike had become dissatisfied with Hughes in 1953, Hughes, after serving with *Time* magazine, became a speech writer for Rocky. While working for Rocky's presidential ambitions in 1959, Hughes was quoted in the New York *Post* (Dec. 6, 1959) as saying he favored the election of a Democrat should Nixon win the GOP nomination over Nelson. Even if Rocky should be the GOP candidate, Hughes told the *Post* at that time, he desired a strongly Democratic Congress.

Hughes' foreign policy also has peculiar left-wing overtones. In his *America the Vincible*, published in 1959, Hughes urged the United States to initiate a policy of wholesale appeasement of the Soviet Union and the Communist empire. He called for the dismantling of our NATO shield in the hope that an American withdrawal from Europe would entice the Soviets to withdraw from their satellites.

The United States, he insisted, should abandon Nationalist China's offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu to the Communists and eventually recognize Red China.

Hughes said it was mandatory to "increase the size" of American foreign aid; funnel more aid through international agencies and scrap security checks for American employes at the United Nations. Arthur Schlesinger Jr., now Bobby Kennedy's ghostwriter, praised the book as "brave, wise and creative" while then-Sen. John F. Kennedy said he would keep the book "close at hand."

With callous disregard for any Republican principles, Rocky has now made Hughes his chief political strategist and policy formulator. Whether Rocky will now be able to ride to victory in Miami on the back of this Republican Trojan Horse remains to be seen.

Behind the Riots

The Kerner Commission finding that conspiracies played no part in the rioting that erupted in major American cities last year has been called into question

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again, this time as a result of the activities of undercover police agents in Gov. Otto Kerner's own state of Illinois.

Specifically, the presidential commission declared it had found "no evidence that all or any of the disorders or the incidents that led to them were planned or directed by any organization or group, international, national or local."

A probe of the volcanic outbursts that swept through Chicago last weekend, however, shows that black power conspirators were very much involved in the disturbances. Four men, including two ranking black power leaders, appeared in felony court on charges of arson and stealing rifles.

As a result of further penetration of militant groups, other black power advocates were also being sought in connection with a number of recent west side fires. One of the men was Edward (Fats) Crawford, president of the National Negro Rifle Association.

The arrests were made on information supplied to the police intelligence division by a young detective who infiltrated one of the black power organizations and took part in the plotting. At one point the detective had to watch two of the fires being set, but was powerless to stop them without revealing his undercover role.

An interesting aspect of the episode is that appearing in the courtroom to see that Crawford had proper representation was Mrs. Lucy Montgomery, estranged wife of an heir to part of the Post cereal fortune. Mrs. Montgomery was co-chairman of the host committee of the left-wing National Conference for New Politics held in Chicago last September and is said to be a principal backer of that group. A supporter of left-wing causes, she is a "peace candidate" for a place as delegate to the Democratic National Convention from the 9th Congressional District on the near north side.

Tightly organized black power militants played a key role in other riots as well, according to government officials.

Conspiracies have been uncovered in Washington, Baltimore and New York as well as Chicago. "Arson was well planned in each city," a top-level government report continues. "Firebombs had been manufactured in advance and stashed in centrally located hideaways. Distribution was swift and efficient once the disturbances were under way."

Actually, the militants had mapped ambitious plans for the long, hot summer ahead. In Washington, D.C., for instance, the weekend of June 18-19 had been selected for rioting, with the expectation that it would then spread to Baltimore and other Eastern cities. "With the assassination of King, the plans were moved up," a top expert reports.

Fulbright's Folly

One angle largely overlooked in the Viet Nam situation: Just after LBJ announced the latest bomb pause and immediately prior to Hanoi's agreement to talk about possible peace negotiations, Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) unleashed a reckless attack on the President's actions which almost blasted any chance for the very peace discussions that Fulbright claimed he so eagerly desired.

FULBRIGHT

Fulbright charged that LBJ's bomb-pause announcement, in view of subsequent U.S. raids some 200 miles north of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ), had been entirely misleading, that it hardly appeared to be a significant change in policy and had sowed confusion "in the minds of some of the people with whom we should be moving toward an understanding."

The chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who has done so much to undermine America's presence in Southeast Asia, declared that one of those confused was "one ambassador of an important country in the Socialist bloc." (Fulbright, not so surprisingly, refers to Communist countries as "Socialist.")

Though LBJ is not exactly above sowing credibility gaps, lawmakers generally concede his words were very clear on this particular matter. The pertinent portion of his announcement read: "I have ordered our aircraft and our naval vessels to make no attacks on North Viet Nam except in the area north of the demilitarized zone where the continuing enemy build-up directly threatened allied forward positions and where the movement of these troops and supplies are clearly related to that threat.

"The area in which we are stopping our attacks includes almost 90 per cent of North Viet Nam's population, and most of its territory. Thus there will be no attacks around the principal populated areas, or in the food-producing areas of North Viet Nam."

Senators on both sides of the aisle defended the President's statement and the continued bombing, some of them wondering why Fulbright had deliberately and publicly handed Hanoi—even before Hanoi had thought of it—an excuse to repudiate LBJ's startling and much too generous peace overture.

Sen. Gordon Allott (R.-Colo.) protested that LBJ's words "are plain English. I do not see any French or Arabic or any other language here. . . . I do not see how anyone could have failed to realize that a supply column may be five miles, 20 miles, 50 miles, or 70 miles long. It may be as long as necessary to bring in troops and material to be used against our men. I think this statement clearly includes this reality. I do not think this should raise any question of credibility because the words, to me, are particularly specific and plain. . . ."

Sen. Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), a dove who has often opposed LBJ's Viet Nam policy, thoroughly refuted the Arkansas solon. Even though we were bombing some 200 miles north of the DMZ, said Mansfield, the President had accurately stated his intentions.

Upon investigation, said Mansfield, he found that 90 per cent of the population was excluded from the bombing—just as the President had said. Furthermore, by LBJ's actions the United States had suddenly excluded from bombing 78 per cent of North Viet Nam, including the breadbasket of North Viet Nam, the Red River Delta, the cities of Hanoi and Haiphong, the docks of Haiphong, the Gio Linh airport and other areas that were previously fair game.

Even after Mansfield's chastening, Fulbright continued to intimate that LBJ's bomb pause was a phony. Apparently unconcerned as to actions that would jeopardize American and South Vietnamese soldiers then under siege at Khe Sanh, the Arkansas senator pushed for an even greater bomb pause.

Only after Hanoi accepted LBJ's olive branch did Fulbright suggest he was sorry. The Arkansas lawmaker confided to reporters that even his wife thought he should have kept his "big mouth shut."

To Capitol Hill observers, however, the entire episode revealed once again the complete irresponsibility of the senior senator from Arkansas and the great harm he can inflict upon the United States in his powerful position as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Moscow's Candidate

With Bobby Kennedy now having a distinct chance to nail down the Democratic party nomination in August and the White House in November, Diplomatic Row has become keenly interested in a provocative story on Bobby appearing in a recent issue of England's *Manchester Guardian Weekly*.

KENNEDY

Written by the *Guardian's* Moscow correspondent, Victor Zorza, the article boldly declares that Bobby has become a favorite candidate of the Red gang in the Kremlin.

"The possibility of having to deal once again with a Kennedy in the White House," writes Zorza, "will be warmly welcomed by the Kremlin, which has repeatedly mourned the death of President John Kennedy as a major setback to hopes of East-West cooperation."

Kennedy's criticism of the Viet Nam war and the more radical aspects of his public image have "attracted favorable comment in the Soviet and other Communist newspapers," says Zorza.

"Privately," he continues, "Communist officials and journalists have gone much further than the press in allowing themselves to hope that Robert Kennedy might yet become President of the United States. They believed that if this . . . possibility materialized, a new era of collaboration for world peace between the U.S. and Russia might begin."

According to Zorza, whose own opinions often reflect the Moscow line fed to the West, the Kremlin "dug" John Kennedy because his Administration "deliberately sought—and acquired—an intellectual understanding of the Communist system lacking in any previous or subsequent American administration."

Zorza tells of another boost for Bobby in Sovietland by Dr. Anatoly Gromyko (son of Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko), who has just completed a book on *The 1001 Days of President Kennedy*. Gromyko writes with approval of John Kennedy's "realism" in foreign policy and of his liberal policies at home. He portrays JFK as desiring a relaxation of East-West tensions and believes "there is every reason to think that Kennedy became more sensible in his actions" as a result of what he had learned from the Cuban missile crisis. Zorza adds: "And there is every reason to believe the Russians think the same is true of Bobby Kennedy."

Intelligence circles in Washington believe that the Zorza article will be interpreted as a direct signal to the Soviet apparatus in the United States to rally around Bobby. While Zorza may not have intended it that way, the feeling is that Moscow was using Zorza to "spread the word among its supporters outside Russia."

Diplomatic observers in the capital are hardly surprised that Moscow would make an all-out effort to elect Bobby, for he plainly played a major role in aiding the Kremlin when the Kennedy Administration was in office.

Bobby sanctioned the decision to cut back vital U.S. airpower that resulted in the Bay of Pigs fiasco. He was behind the catastrophic policy of bringing pro-Communist poet Juan Bosch to power in the Dominican Republic—a situation that had to be saved by LBJ in 1965. He sided with his brother in supporting a coalition government including Communists in the Congo—another disastrous policy reversed by LBJ.

The Kennedys were instrumental in arranging the overthrow of South Viet Nam's pro-Western Premier Ngo Dinh Diem—an action which resulted in Diem's assassination and forced the United States to commit a massive number of American soldiers to South Viet Nam to save that country from imminent collapse.

Nor has Bobby's service to Moscow appeared to diminish since he left the executive branch of government. He, as much as any other single individual, has been instrumental in subverting LBJ's originally tough stance in Viet Nam. Bobby's present push for a Communist coalition government can only benefit Ho Chi Minh and his Soviet supporters.

As did brother Jack, moreover, he relies upon an odd assortment of radical advisers, including Richard Goodwin and Theodore Sorensen. Sorensen, himself, has a lush pro-Soviet record and was a conscientious objector during the Korean War. Sorensen is not only interested in enlarging U.S. trade with Moscow (and stands to personally line his pockets by so doing, since he represents clients who are interested in making trade deals with the Soviets), but he was very active in pushing for unilateral disarmament under JFK.

It is no surprise, therefore, that the Kremlin believes Bobby would "understand" Moscow's wants and needs and that is why they are pushing him for President.

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POLITICS '68

WALLACE

Former Gov. George Wallace's campaign for the presidency could run into trouble depending on the outcome of a civil suit filed in a United States District Court in Montgomery, Ala. Under the suit, Alabama State Finance Director **Seymore Trammell**, appointed to his position by Wallace in 1962 and now a leading figure in the ex-governor's bid for the presidency, has been charged with being a party to a widespread conspiracy to force kickbacks and political contributions from companies that sell asphalt to the state. Trammell vigorously denies the accusation. Other parties to the suit include the state purchasing agent, 24 asphalt-producing companies and a number of so far unidentified asphalt "agents."

WALLACE

For years there have been strong rumors in the construction and road-building industries of this sort of activity in the Wallace administration, but this suit is the first public charge. Filed by the Waugh Asphalt Co. of Montgomery, the suit claims that the alleged conspiracy makes it "a virtual impossibility for a truly competitive asphalt company to sell asphalt to the state of Alabama" and that the result is a violation of the **Sherman Antitrust Act** and Alabama's own competitive bid laws.

The suit charges, further, that asphalt companies and state officials were in a conspiracy to pay state officials **special kickbacks** and that these kickbacks were often in the form of "a sum of money, sometimes called 'political contributions,' to defendants Seymore Trammell, et al., or others."

Copies of state records included in the suit indicate that the Waugh Co.—despite the fact that its bids were not accepted—entered bids ranging from $4.40 to a maximum of $9.65 a ton on asphalt compared with $19.90 a ton submitted by other companies.

ROCKEFELLER

Sen. Thruston Morton (R.-Ky.) announced last week the formation of a "Rockefeller for President" Committee to work for Rocky's nomination. "This is a draft, a spontaneous movement," said Morton.

MORTON

Included with Morton on the original organizing committee are such GOP lawmakers as Sen. Edward Brooke (Mass.), Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.), Sen. James B. Pearson (Kan.), Rep. John R. Dellenback (Ore.), Rep. Paul Findley (Ill.), Rep. Charles Goodell (N.Y.), Gov. John H. Chafee (R.I.), Gov. Harold E. LeVander (Minn.), Gov. Tom McCall (Ore.) and Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller (Ark.).

Others expected to play a prominent role in the new committee are businessmen C. Douglas Dillon, former secretary of the Treasury, John McCone, former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Stanley Marcus, president of Nieman-Marcus, and the ubiquitous J. Irwin Miller, head of Cummins Engine Co. of Columbus, Ind.

In view of the fact that Miller has been named chairman-designate of the "Rockefeller for President" committee, it is interesting to note that he is considered to be among the more radical breed of businessmen.

A supporter of expanded trade with Communist countries, Miller was the first layman ever to be elected president of the ultra-liberal National Council of Churches and was a key organizer of the civil rights March on Washington in 1963.

Following are additional names of the original "Rockefeller for President" committee as issued by J. Irwin Miller:

Leonard W. Hall, William E. Miller and Meade Alcorn Jr., all former chairmen of the Republican National Committee.

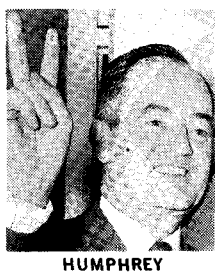
Miss Bertha S. Adkins, former under secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Mrs. David G. Fernald, former co-chairman, Young Republican National Federation; Mrs. Catharine Gibson, former president, National Federation of Republican Women; Mrs. Clare Williams Shank, former assistant chairman, Republican National Committee.

Eugene R. Black, former president, World Bank; W. Harold Brenton, chairman, Brenton Banks, Inc.; Thomas S. Gates, chairman, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. and former secretary of defense; Henry J. Heinz II, chairman, H. J. Heinz Co.; Robert S. Ingersoll, chairman, Borg-Warner Corp.; Ralph Lazarus, chairman, the Federated Department Stores, Inc.

Joseph A. Martino, chairman, National Lead Co.; Robert Oelman, chairman, the National Cash Register Co.; Walter N. Thayer, president, Whitney Communications Corp.; John Hay Whitney, former publisher of the New York Herald-Tribune.

HUMPHREY

Hubert Horatio Humphrey, all but forgotten in the hoopla over Bobby Kennedy, is quietly putting together an **impressive political organization.** The vice president will announce formally in the very near future, aides report. "He's in, there's no doubt about it," one lieutenant told newsmen last week.


HUMPHREY

Key labor barons, led by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Steelworkers' boss I. W. Abel, are quietly **lining up support.** And a national organization—United Democrats for Humphrey—was unveiled last week, with Harry Truman its honorary chairman.

UDH is headed by Robert Birkhead and Richard Maguire, both influential political pros. Birkhead, the group's executive director, is a former top Department of Agriculture official with contacts throughout the mid- and far-West. Maguire, a long-time Kennedy intimate who has served as treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, will direct fund-raising.

"Maguire knows where the bodies are buried," said one perceptive newsmen last week. "He's raised millions before and he'll do it again."

Humphrey is reported encouraged by the **chilly reception** that most Democratic pros have given Kennedy's announcement. The vice president has personally contacted most of the top Democratic powers throughout the country, advising them of his impending candidacy and asking them to stay off the Kennedy bandwagon. St. Louis Mayor Cervantes has written 900 of his fellow mayors plugging Humphrey and reminding them, not so subtly, of the federal goodies that HHH can deliver.

COPE

In an effort to rally its members around the liberal Democratic flag, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE) has put out a memo revealing some of the **marginal districts** labor will be concentrating on this year. Human Events' readers should also be interested in these contests and may want to volunteer to aid candidates or incumbents opposed by COPE or help defeat those who are COPE favorites.

"Following are some of the Democratic liberals who face skin-of-the-teeth fights to retain their spots in the House," says the COPE Memo. "These are the ones who won the **narrowest victories** in 1966, 52 per cent or less."

Here are the COPE-praised **Democratic liberals:**

George Brown (Calif.), Evans (Colo.), Irwin (Conn.), Murphy (Ill.), Pucinski (Ill.), Roush (Ind.), Kyros (Maine), Olsen (Mont.), Helstoski (N.J.), Wolff (N.Y.), Dow (N.Y.), Eilberg (Pa.), Tiernan (R.I.). (In the cases of both Dow and Tiernan, third-party candidates were in the race. Each was elected with less than 50 per cent of the vote.)

The **Conservative Republicans** who were elected with less than 52 per cent of the vote in 1966 and whom COPE plans to make particular targets this year are:

Brotzman (Colo.), Blackburn (Ga.), McClure (Idaho), Zion (Ind.), Kyl (Iowa), Esch (Mich.), Zwach (Minn.), Denney (Neb.), Hunt (N.J.), Sandman (N.J.), Kleppe (N.D.), Miller (Ohio), Smith (Okla.), Goodling (Pa.), Schadeberg (Wis.).

"In the **Senate**, too—with 23 Democratic and 11 Republican seats up for grabs—there are key marginal contests," says COPE.

"Whether or not Sen. **Carl Hayden** (D.-Ariz.) will run for another term is still uncertain, but his seat is marginal, won by 54.9 per cent six years ago. And this year, 1964 GOP presidential candidate **Barry Goldwater** is trying for a return to the Senate. Hayden's COPE voting record is 56 right votes, 23 wrong votes. Goldwater's, when he left the Senate in 1964, was none right, 53 wrong."

According to COPE, the other **marginal Senate seats** held by Democrats that are up this year are:

Ribicoff (Conn.), Church (Idaho), Bayh (Ind.), Long (Mo.), Monroney (Okla.), Morse (Ore.), Clark (Pa.), McGovern (S.D.), Magnuson (Wash.) and Nelson (Wis.). (Long, Morse and Clark face primary fights.)

The marginal **GOP Senate seats,** in COPE's eyes, are:

Dominick (Colo.), Dirksen (Ill.) and Bennett (Utah). (Hickenlooper of Iowa and Morton of Kentucky won marginal races in 1962, but each has announced he will not seek re-election.)

KENNEDY

With President Johnson not seeking re-election and with Viet Nam peace talks pending, Sen. Robert Kennedy is casting about for **new issues** to pave the way for his hoped-for Democratic presidential nomination. Deprived of his two major targets—LBJ and the war—Kennedy has so far not been able to find adequate replacements.

In his first campaign appearance following the funeral of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Kennedy gave a **lengthy, rambling dissertation** on race problems before an Indiana audience. According to reporters on the scene Kennedy made the speech without his usual fire. "Kennedy's delivery was halting and at times marked by uncharacteristic diffidence or uncertainty," reported the Washington Post. Likewise, the audience was not moved to the frenzy to which Kennedy is accustomed.

With the confusion of issues among Democratic presidential contenders Kennedy and McCarthy, the outlook for **Indiana's May 7 primary** has changed. The prospects of favorite-son candidate Gov. Roger Branigin winning the three-way race have improved and most state politicos now consider him the man to beat.

• One of the major stumbling blocks between Kennedy and the Democratic nomination appears to be the **leaders of organized labor.** Thus far, none of the prominent labor officials—many of whom supported Jack Kennedy in '60—has come out for Bobby. Many AFL-CIO union bosses instead are lining up behind Vice President Hubert Humphrey (such as federation president George Meany) or are remaining officially "uncommitted." Even the labor leader most likely to back Kennedy, the UAW's Walter Reuther, has remained uncharacteristically silent.

• In fact, columnist Victor Riesel reports that at a testimonial dinner April 6 for Harry Van Arsdale, the powerful head of the New York Central Labor Council, the **mere mention of Bobby's name** was greeted by loud boos from many of the 1,200 guests. A few seconds later the Hilton ballroom rocked with cheers when a telegram from Humphrey was read.

• Although their candidate may be having some troubles, Kennedy backers have won their first direct confrontation with supporters of Sen. **Eugene McCarthy.** In the Connecticut primaries to elect delegates to the state Democratic convention, McCarthy generally did very well in the home state of Democratic National Chairman John Bailey, winning seven of 20 municipal elections; but in the one McCarthy-Kennedy face-off, in suburban East Hartford, the RFK slate won 2,075 to 1,598.

REAGAN

Still more evidence on the supposedly subterranean Reagan-for-President drive:

REAGAN

Reagan supporters in Oregon have launched a concentrated **radio-television campaign** preparatory to that state's May 28 presidential primary, in which the California governor's name will appear on the GOP ballot with Richard Nixon and Harold Stassen. Focal point of the TV effort is a half-hour-long color film that attempts to portray Reagan as a "winner," Nixon as a "loser."

The **professionally made film,** which also was shown prior to the Wisconsin primary, opens with Nixon conceding defeat to California Gov. Pat Brown in 1962 and also mentions that Brown defeated former GOP Senate Majority Leader William Knowland for governor in 1958. "Knowland, Nixon—what Republican is left?" the narrator asks. The question, however, is only rhetorical, as the film then proceeds to present highlights from Reagan's career—with heavy emphasis on his 1966 defeat of Gov. Brown. While the Reagan supporters in Oregon maintain they only want to present a positive case, many conservatives who have seen the film are afraid its strong attacks on Nixon will—a la '64—provide ammunition for the Democrats should the former vice president be the GOP candidate.

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Where the Riots Hit Hardest

Whether out of a feeling of anger, frustration or sheer wanton lawlessness, thousands of Negroes rioted in over 150 American cities last week following the senseless slaying of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. As city after city erupted into a horrifyingly similar pattern of looting, arson and sporadic violence, nearly 65,000 federal troops and National Guardsmen were mobilized across the nation in an effort to put down the outbreaks.

Hardest hit was Washington and Chicago, with Baltimore, Pittsburgh and New York not far behind. Countless other cities, many of which had never before experienced a trace of racial trouble, were witness to the familiar sight of rock-throwing mobs and escalating tensions. Together with the excruciating emotionalism of the King murder and funeral and the turmoil in the presidential political forum, the explosions in the cities' ghettoes comprised a period that genuinely shook the nation.

Following is a capsule summary of the most serious instances of violence in scattered American cities:

Washington, the U.S. city with the largest percentage of Negro residents, finally saw a sizable portion of that population explode and cause an estimated minimum of $13 million worth of arson and wreckage to buildings alone. Destroyed inventories and lost business could well double that figure. In addition, many of these businesses destroyed were either under-insured or had no insurance at all. Beginning soon after the announcement of Dr. King's death, when a "parade" led by Stokely Carmichael (see page 13) erupted into a firebombing and looting mob, the Nation's Capital experienced three days of rampant destruction that was finally put down by the presence of some 14,000 federal and National Guard troops, plus the restrained yet forceful effort of the District metropolitan police force. At midweek the totals from Washington's orgy of violence stood at seven dead, 1,100 injured (including 52 policemen), nearly 7,000 arrests and over 800 fires.

The major features of the D.C. disorders were the familiar arson and looting, with three principal commercial centers in the ghetto areas gutted by fire and pillage of stores spreading as far as downtown Washington, adjacent to Pennsylvania Avenue. When looting first broke out Thursday evening police forces were so overwhelmed and outnumbered they were ordered out of the immediate trouble area; when widespread looting erupted again around noontime Friday, federal troops were activated, a strict curfew was imposed and the freewheeling looters apprehended wherever possible. Businessmen and other citizens, nevertheless, complained that the force used was too little, too late and that far too much looting took place—often right under the eyes of policemen and troops.

The District government, however, imposed the initial police restraint because its prime goal was to prevent possible bloodshed, not to protect private property. The subsequent show of strength, plus the strong enforcement of a 4 p.m.-to-6:30 a.m. curfew, helped restore calm to Washington's streets. After quiet returned, District Mayor Walter Washington began gradually lifting the curfew, although violators were still quickly arrested. Federal troops, it is reported, may be kept on standby alert for Washington for an indefinite period.

New York was one of the first cities to explode and one of the quickest to die down, although official estimates of property damage are on a par with that during the city's week-long 1964 riots. Hardest hit were the Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant (Brooklyn) ghetto areas, with some looting and window-breaking in midtown Manhattan. Trouble began Thursday evening after the announcement of Dr. King's death; attempting to cool down heated tempers, Mayor John Lindsay was forced to vacate the street as he became a target of thrown debris. By Friday it was a different story, with Lindsay walking the streets and talking to citizens over radio; officials also credit what one called "wall-to-wall police" with putting a damper on further outbreaks. At first estimate, damage was placed at approximately $5 million, but there were no deaths and few injuries.

Chicago was perhaps the hardest hit of all, with property damage running well over $15 million and at least 10 dead. Violence was not contained to any specific areas, as roving bands circulated through the city setting random fires and looting hundreds of stores, including some in the central downtown Loop section. On Sunday President Johnson ordered 5,000 federal troops into the nation's second-largest city, where they reinforced 17,500 beleaguered city police and National Guardsmen. After three days of rioting and scattered instances of sniper fire, the outbreaks began to fall off and a dusk-to-dawn curfew for those under 21 was lifted on Tuesday.

Detroit, with the memory of last summer's holocaust still fresh in the community's mind, appeared to have escaped serious violence. When an outbreak threatened Thursday evening, Gov. George Romney ordered 4,000 National Guardsmen and 400 state police into the city and a tight curfew was imposed. With two suspected looters dead, 12 injured and the tense weekend over, Mayor James Cavanagh, who praised citizen cooperation in maintaining order, felt the worst had passed.

Boston also averted serious incident through quick action by city and state officials. At the first sign of trouble Thursday night, 10,000 guardsmen were put on stand-by alert and the potential trouble area was effectively sealed off by police. A televised concert by rhythm-and-blues singer James Brown (see page 9), at which Mayor Kevin White appealed for moderation, and blanket citizen patrols in the predominantly Negro Roxbury section, were also credited with keeping the lid on the city.

Pittsburgh regained some degree of calm after three days of looting, arson and rampant window-smashing with the arrival of 2,200 National Guardsmen to help 1,400 city and state policemen. Major damage was confined to the Hill section ghetto, where virtually every business suffered some wreckage, while the city at large witnessed over 160 fires. When minor disturbances broke out in Philadelphia, Gov. Raymond Shafer ordered the closing of all liquor stores (which are state-owned) in Pennsylvania.

Baltimore, long a smoldering cauldron of racial tension, exploded with three days of violence, including occasional sniper fire. Over 11,000 federal troops were called into the Maryland city to quell the disturbance, which was unique in the random and widespread nature of the firebombing, with damage widely scattered across the city; after three days of destruction, city officials counted over 1,000 fires, 5,033 arrests and six dead. At least five sniper incidents were reported and in some cases federal troops rode fire trucks to protect firemen from possible gunfire and rock-throwing.

Nashville's disturbances centered around the campus of all-Negro Tennessee A & I College, where students burned down the ROTC building. The school was quickly surrounded by 2,000 National Guardsmen and a strict curfew was enforced; the state capitol building was also ringed by troops. Despite scattered reports of sniper fire, these quick moves and cooler heads on the campus restored order.

Richmond, Va., went through two days of scattered looting and some violence, but action by state and city police in sealing off the downtown area prevented further disturbance. The court appearance of jailed SNCC leader H. Rap Brown on Monday, which had been expected to draw some type of demonstration by supporters, went by without serious incident.

Alabany, Ga., scene of one of Dr. King's earliest mass civil rights demonstrations, saw two days of scattered looting and arson. Bars and liquor stores were closed in an effort to prevent further outbreaks. Some window-smashing and looting also spread to nearby Savannah.

Cincinnati threatened to explode Monday night, as gangs roamed the city committing acts of vandalism and looting and a university student was dragged from his auto and fatally wounded. But the presence of National Guardsmen and a dusk-to-dawn curfew appeared to have restored order.

Kansas City, Mo., high school students precipitated violence in that Midwestern city, as hundreds walked out of classes on the day of Dr. King's funeral and proceeded on a looting and burning foray that 400 guardsmen sought to put down. As darkness fell troops and police moved to enforce a curfew and seal off the trouble areas. Sniping incidents erupted the next day and by week's end all was not yet calm.

Wilmington, Del., witnessed its first racial outbreak in history and Gov. Charles Terry was forced to mobilize 1,000 guardsmen and state police. Major incidents involved the usual firebombing and looting, although there was scattered sniper fire and five white persons were admitted to hospitals as a result of beatings.

Youngstown, Ohio, saw an ugly outbreak of rock-throwing, arson and looting; some sniper fire was also reported in the city's predominantly Negro section. Mayor Anthony Flask declared a state of emergency, imposed a 7-to-7 curfew and received the assistance of 600 National Guardsmen to help quell the disturbance.

Newark, N.J., residents saw the spectre of a repeat of last summer's violence looming and moved quickly to help Mayor Hugh Addonizio put it down. After a series of fires broke out in the same area hit by arson last August, Negro leaders cruised the section in sound trucks playing recordings of Dr. King's speeches; as this appeal appeared to be effective, city officials decided against requesting outside assistance.

Jacksonville, Fla., was the scene of the ugliest incident of white-inspired violence, as a carload of youths pelted Negroes with rocks and then shot an 18-year-old Negro to death as he rode his bicycle. This shooting was followed by widespread arson, as the threat of Negro retaliation hung heavy over the Florida coastal city.

Unanswered Riot Question

Too many alibis from government officials

From the Washington *Daily News*

There has been a variety of excuses for failure to preserve order in American cities. Those of Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark as to the riots in the District are about as lame as they come.

"Look at the deaths," advised Mr. Clark. "Very few deaths compared to what could have been expected under the circumstances."

How many deaths could be accepted as permissible, "under the circumstances"? The troops, when finally they were called, got the disorder under control without firing a shot.

"I think the police acted firmly here; I think they acted fairly here; I think they did a good job," Mr. Clark said.

We agree with that, heartily. Nowhere has there been any criticism of police. But they were hopelessly outnumbered until, finally, after too many hours of indecision, the troops were brought in.

Mr. Clark was asked whether the nation is willing to accept unlimited property damage because "we don't want to inflict any deaths upon the looters and rioters." Mr. Clark replied:

"That is not the issue. I don't think we suffered unlimited property damage here. The property damage here would be a very small fraction of the property damage at Watts or the property damage at Detroit."

He seems to argue that law enforcement officials shouldn't try to stop a mob from burning down your house for fear of injuring the arsonists. But skip that. The record is that people get killed in the heat of riot. The killing stops, or doesn't even start, when authorities move in firmly to enforce the law.

"Restraint" merely has encouraged the riots to spread, making big ones out of little ones. This restraint apparently is prompted in recognition of injustice and out of concern for public sentiment in the Negro community.

Think that one over. The slum dwellers are the first and principal victims of these disorders. Thousands of them are being fed and clothed today at relief centers.

Does it make any sense to assume these poor people wanted their homes and small possessions burned, their sources of food destroyed, their jobs sent up in smoke? What little they had was lost because the authorities failed to protect them, thus piling neglect on top of injustice.

Atty. Gen. Clark replies to all the questions save the main one:

Why was the looting and burning permitted to spread, practically without hindrance, for nearly 24 hours before troops were called in from across the river?

What have we got here? A government or an alibi factory?

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Humphrey Will Soon Announce His Candidacy

By ROBERT S. ALLEN

Vice President Hubert Humphrey definitely will enter the Democratic presidential scramble.

Still undetermined is the time and place of his formal announcement. Also whether he will enter any of the remaining state primaries, particularly Nebraska, Indiana, Oregon, South Dakota and California, where Senators Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy are set for head-on showdowns.

[Humphrey embarked on a week's vacation after attending the funeral for the Rev. Martin Luther King last week and the vice president was expected to make his announcement upon his return.]

Johnson-Humphrey slates already are officially listed in a number of states. In view of that, it's very possible Humphrey may decide not to personally run in primaries. It is known he is being advised against that by influential Democratic leaders.

In their view the vice president should depend primarily on state party organizations and officials loyal to President Johnson to corral convention delegates. The argument is being made that this strategy would enable Humphrey to avoid risky head-on clashes with Kennedy and McCarthy while giving friendly state and local leaders free hand to maneuver and manipulate for delegates.

Importantly influencing Humphrey's thinking in determining to throw his hat into the arena are the following considerations:

• The now seemingly real possibility of a cessation of large-scale Viet Nam hostilities, and peace negotiations during the summer and fall—while the election battle is under way. The Administration would undertake to make the utmost political capital of such a development, and Humphrey could expect to benefit heavily from that.

• With the President out of the nomination race, the various Johnson-Humphrey delegate slates would disintegrate if Humphrey also withdraws. That would leave scores of state and local Democratic leaders high and dry, and their organizations undermined. To protect the interests of these loyal supporters it's essential to provide them with a political base from which to operate. Humphrey's candidacy would do that.

• It would also "salvage" an estimated 800 to 1,000 delegates who are deemed last-ditch Administration supporters. This is nearly one-half of the convention total, and until the President suddenly withdrew they were considered the hard core of his convention strength, which he could count on to clinch his renomination. Humphrey's lieutenants are convinced a big percentage of these delegates can be depended on to back him—thus giving him a powerful position in the convention jockeying.

• Positive assurances from major labor leaders, foremost among them AFL-CIO President George Meany, that they will support Humphrey politically and financially. The latter promise is particularly important in bucking the multi-million-dollar campaign fund of Sen. Kennedy and the now almost equally well-heeled McCarthy treasury. Illustrative of the latter is that $1 million in radio and TV time already has been contracted for him in the May 14 Indiana primary.

Actively assisting Humphrey in launching his belated candicacy is James Rowe, one-time New Deal braintruster who was in charge of organizing the President's campaign until his abrupt withdrawal. Rowe is an old political lieutenant of Humphrey. In 1960 Rowe managed Humphrey's primary campaigns in Wisconsin and West Virginia against then-Sen. John F. Kennedy.

Other White House political leaders also are active in getting Humphrey's drive under way. This is being done with the President's full knowledge and approval, although he personally is "keeping hands off" the torrid fray.

In process of being organized is a Citizens for Humphrey Committee consisting of prominent figures in a wide range of professions and activities and from all parts of the country. It will be announced after the vice president makes his formal statement.

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REP. JOEL BROYHILL (R.-Va.) has polled his predominantly Democratic constituents, many of whom work for the government, and found massive disenchantment with LBJ. Support of Johnson's Viet Nam policy has dwindled from 70 per cent to 33 per cent in little more than a year.

Will Johnson Resign To Aid HHH Campaign?

By WALTER TROHAN

Ordinarily rumors are not worthy of consideration, but when one runs through the financial community with arresting persistency, it commands attention. This is the rumor that President Johnson will resign so that Vice President Humphrey can seek election from the White House.

Only two men could know if there is any truth to the rumor, but it would seem this is even more idle than most rumors. It must be assumed that in deciding not to run Mr. Johnson has determined to place this nation's future above all else, so that if he should decide that the nation's welfare can best be advanced by his resignation, he would not hesitate to take such a step.

However, it is to be doubted that the nation can best be advanced, or Humphrey's future, by the President's resignation. The country might decide that such a step would be the crassest kind of politics and the move could hurt Humphrey more than it could do him good.

Four years ago, former Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown of California appointed Pierre Salinger to the Senate so that he might run for election as a senator. Salinger lost to George Murphy partly for this reason. In Illinois Gov. Kerner is resigning to take a seat on the United States Appellate Court and Lt. Gov. Samuel H. Shapiro will run with the weight of the office behind him, but this could be more of a burden than an asset, if voters should find this distasteful.

Of course many people refuse to believe that Mr. Johnson is sincere in his determination not to run. They see his withdrawal as a sinister plot to force-feed a draft at the Democratic convention in Chicago.

Most political leaders and delegates have taken the President at his word and are building up favorite-son delegations so that they can stop, look, and listen on the presidential race up to the time of the convention.

Seldom have political events moved at such a bewildering pace as they have in the last month. It is possible that a peace in Viet Nam or a long, hot summer could change the picture almost overnight. If Viet Nam should no longer be an issue, the fortunes of Senators Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota and Robert F. Kennedy of New York could take a surprising nosedive.

At the moment, the vice president has not announced his candidacy, although he is expected to do so. Still, the rumor persists that he will run as President on the resignation of Mr. Johnson.

It would seem that Mr. Johnson would prefer Humphrey to either Kennedy or McCarthy. If he does, it would seem to be in the cards that he can do more for Humphrey in the White House than out of it. In office the President can command the power and prestige of the presidency for his choice.

Humphrey must determine whether he has sufficient strength to make a bid for presidential support possible, or whether his entrance into the lists would further fragment the Democratic party. McCarthy is not too well known and Kennedy is feared by many voters who would not want to see him in the White House.

Humphrey could expect the McCarthy strength to shift to him in Minnesota and neighboring Wisconsin, but he would have a more difficult time capturing the Kennedy zealots. Humphrey was feared by many as a wild man when he made a pitch for the nomination against the late John F. Kennedy in 1960, but the rank and file of the party now consider him as more conservative than either Bobby or Gene.

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At left, the late Dr. Martin Luther King leads his last march in Memphis, Tenn.; when violence erupted in that city, King fled the scene. At right is a common sight in downtown Washington, D.C. after the upheaval there following King's assassination.

He Reaped the Whirlwind

A Cool Appraisal of Martin Luther King

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

(*Ever since the beginning of Martin Luther King's crusades, Negro conservative George Schuyler has been warning they would lead only to violence and would set race against race. A newspaperman for half a century, Mr. Schuyler is the author of* Black and Conservative *and* Black No More. *Repeatedly in his articles in* Human Events *he has stressed that the vast majority of Negroes—and whites—do not want or seek the kind of racial confrontations that marked the late Rev. King's career.*)

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. tragically emphasizes again the fact that "militant non-violence" always ends violently.

Countless mass demonstrations which started to advance a good cause have ended in clashes with police, looting, vandalism and killing rather than the goodwill and understanding originally intended.

Behaviorists have long known that the larger the assemblage, the lower the mass intelligence, and the greater likelihood that hysteria will result.

It was Dr. King's determination to influence the course of an ordinary labor dispute by his charismatic presence that led him to Memphis, doubtless at the behest of his associates there, and exacerbated an already dangerous situation.

The recent rioting, vandalism and casualties were a direct result, and there would probably have been more of the same had he led another demonstration. Labor disputes should be handled by officials of the AFL-CIO and the employers concerned, and not by demagogic outsiders with appeals to racial passion.

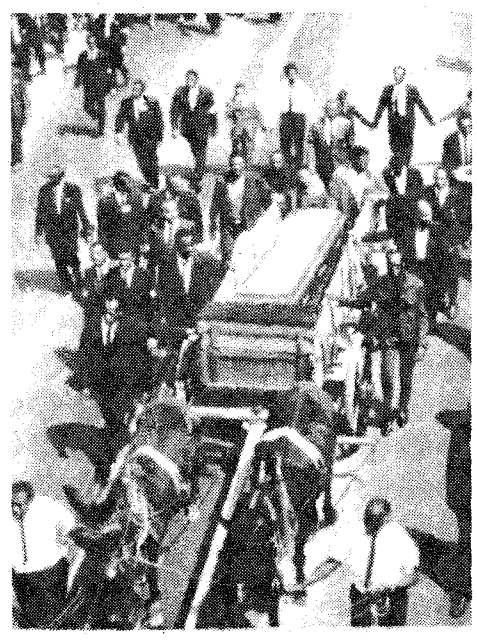
It is noteworthy that Dr. King's idol, Mahatma Gandhi, who preached nonviolence, on several occasions had to call off his drives and go into seclusion until his millions of adherents had cooled off and cured the wounds recieved from battling police who were dedicated, there as here, to preserving law and order, and upholding the rights of others not involved in the struggle. (Gandhi's own assassination, it may be recalled, fed the flames of communal rioting and killings in India.)

From Dr. King's original effort, the Montgomery Improvement Association's bus boycott, he contributed very little to the solution of the touchy problems of race relations in the United States. If these problems are to be solved, it must be in moderation and through innumerable compromises rather than by the use of abrasive tactics that produce irritation and ill-will rather than understanding and cooperation.

Wherever the Negro lives in the United States, he prospers only to the extent that he has the goodwill, tolerance and acceptance of his white neighbors and fellow-workers. This is necessarily a slow process, when trying to maintain the most delicate balance. It cannot be speeded by razzle-dazzle tactics which arouse suspicion and lend support to the propaganda of Negrophobes. Then action brings reaction. As President Eisenhower said, this is a matter of education.

Because Dr. King believed he was right and had Holy Writ behind him, he continued to persist regardless of clear warnings of danger, even to the point of irresponsibility. It was scarcely calculated to help the Negroes of Alabama or to increase the esteem in which Dr. King and his cohorts were held in that state, to fruitlessly declare a boycott on all of its products from which, if effective, the Negroes would suffer more than the whites.

It merely increased apprehension, exasperation and frustration in Chicago and environs when Dr. King and his janissaries boldly marched in, painted "End Slums" all over a section of the city, took over one landlord's property for rent collection and renovation without the owner's permission, and led parades through all-white near-suburbs where the marchers only escaped severe casualties because of the vigilance of the much-maligned police.



Dr. King's funeral in Atlanta drew over 150,000 marchers—and presidential candidates (or near-candidates) Kennedy, McCarthy, Humphrey, Rockefeller and Nixon.

Because of Dr. King's stubbornness—or, if you prefer, extreme dedication—the Birmingham shambles was unavoidable. Warned by responsible Negro leaders not to visit the city, told that they had the situation in hand as much as it could be, he and his staff came just the same. This persistence, aided by the atmosphere of mob-mindedness among colored and white, led directly to the deplorable events that followed.

Similarly, the troubles in St. Augustine, Fla., were deliberately provoked, and to this day nobody knows what was gained by it. To be sure, there was a vast uproar in the press, radio and television, there were threats and jailings, but no one it St. Augustine can say today what help it was to race relations—except for more speaking engagements for Dr. King.

There was an increasingly widespread belief among sober-minded Americans that Dr. King was, to say the least, unfortunate or unwise in the choice of his associates and advisers. They were largely of the left-wing variety.

Added to these were the Vietnik peace forces headed by Dr. Spock and an assortment of Hanoi-lovers who influenced Dr. King to lend his endorsement and influence to elements inimical to the best interests of the United States, and even to allowing Mrs. King to accompany a delegation of women to the Ho Chi Minh capital.

Moderate organizations like the National Urban League warned against tying the civil rights movement to the so-called peace movement, but Dr. King persisted stubbornly, even giving leave to one of his associates, Rev. James Bevel, to help organize the peacenik demonstrations in New York's Central Park and in the United Nations Plaza where King spoke and American flags were burned.

In short, as Dr. King's influence waxed, his judgment seems to have waned. No more was said about praying en masse for white folks, but there was much talk about civil disobedience and defiance of the powers-that-be.

Dr. King was talented and adroit. He was never at a loss for words and he was evidently dedicated to the cause of improving race relations. It was the methods he used which, considering the high emotionalism which surrounded his goals, were objectionable.

There are too many retardate, half-witted, criminally inclined people in our population whose expectations have to be kept in check. They provide the fuel for great social conflagrations. This becomes truer every day as our population soars and our society becomes more complex.

There are irresponsible individuals ever willing and eager to take advantage of the opportunities offered by unsettled times. A few years back in a New York department store, Dr. King was seriously injured when a crazed woman plunged a butcher knife in his chest while he was autographing copies of his book.

What will the followers of Dr. King do now that he has gone? We have already seen what has happened in the wake of news of his assassination, with a spate of vandalistic orgies across the country. Will those sub-leaders of the departed disciple of Gandhi drop the policies and tactics that gained him world fame and chart a new course? Will they call off the scheduled mass demonstration of 3,000-odd trained "invaiders" of Washington, D.C., and wait until things cool down? Or will they continue to court disaster? The present temper of the nation suggests need for caution.

The goal of the overwhelming majority of American Negroes is middle-class co-existence. Millions have attained that status, and more are doing so all the time. There is lessening economic discrimination and everywhere they wish to vote, they are doing so. It will not speed the process to continue tactics of harassment and annoyance, but may well cause a retrogression in race relations to the disadvantage of all. Dr. King, tragically, never learned this. His followers had better.

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James Brown Tells It Like It Is

James Brown is a name almost unknown to the white community, but in the confused maze of values in America's ghettos Brown holds the indisputable title of "Soul Brother No. 1." For the Negro kids on the streets and in the schools, and for the young adults on the job or in jail, Brown embodies more than anyone else that elusive quality—a combination of hip directness, emotional honesty and what the Spanish call **simpatico**—that is known as "soul."

Brown is a 34-year-old rhythm-and-blues singer, perhaps the best, and he has not "copped out" on the blacks that bought his records, patronized his concerts and helped transform him from a Georgia shoeshine boy to a millionaire.

Rather than make his personal appearances at mammoth convention halls or intimate nightclubs, with their prices scaled to upper-middle-class budgets, Brown continues to present his imposing talents at the relatively small ghetto neighborhood live-entertainment theatres—such as Washington's Howard or New York's Apollo—where the people who made him can still afford to hear him.

The street kids know this and idolize Brown for it; he is more popular with them than Stokely Carmichael or Rap Brown could ever hope to be. During the disturbances following Dr. King's assassination last week, Brown found a way to translate this idolatry into a restraint on potential rioting. At a scheduled concert in Boston on Friday, April 5 (a performance which city officials decided to have televised to keep kids off the streets), Brown made repeated pleas to his audience to "cool it" and avoid violence.

The following day Brown was invited to appear in many riot-torn cities, but he chose Washington because it is the Nation's Capital, a symbol for the whole country. At a personal cost of some $2,000, he flew in his own plane to the District of Columbia, where he appeared on citywide television during a tense afternoon when the flames of Friday night's firebombing were still burning.

It is impossible to gauge the effect of Brown's eloquent, extemporaneous plea, but District of Columbia Mayor Walter Washington described it as "absolutely fabulous—one of the great pluses."

Reprinted below is the verbatim transcript of James Brown's message to the Negro youth of Washington:

I want to say we were in Boston last night, and we were having problems there. We even got to the point of some violence and firing.

The mayor and his aide—the Honorable Mayor White, Mr. Tom Atkins, councilman—we put on a program. It lasted for three hours and 15 minutes. We taped it, televised it. We were supposed to do a show at the Gardens there. Normally we have 15 or 16,000 people, but we asked the people to stay home. The city sponsored the show. We went for three hours and 15 minutes, and we taped the show while we were doing it and we had it repeated over. And we were having—we were having real bad problems there.

And when I finished talking to the people and we finished doing the show and ran it back, an amazing thing, 45 minutes—35 minutes after we got on the air, everybody cleared the streets. They didn't clear the streets because only I asked them, they cleared it because they knew that they were doing wrong. But they want somebody to identify with them, so that's me, I'm down to earth.

I guess you know I started as a shoeshine boy in Augusta, Georgia. I didn't get a chance to finish the seventh grade; but I made it. I made it because you believed in me; because I had honesty, and dignity and sincerity; and I wanted to be somebody.

This is the reason why today I talked to the kids. Tell them to stay in school and don't be a dropout, because if I hadn't looked up and through the good will and the sympathy of people I wouldn't be here.

Education is the answer. Know what you're talking about. Be qualified. Be ready. Then you'll have a bag. Be ready. Know what you're doing.

You know, in Augusta, Georgia, I used to shine shoes on the steps of a radio station, WRDW. I think we started at three cents, then we went to five, and six—never did get to a dime. But today I own that radio station. You know what that is? That's black power. Right here. It's not in violence. It's in knowing what you're talking about. Being ready.

Now I say to you because I'm your brother; I know where it's at. I been there. I'm not using it from imagination, I'm going—I'm talking from experience.

I picked cotton. I did everything. I was nine years old, before I got my first pair of underwear out of a store. All my clothes are made—effects, and things like that—you know what I'm talking about. The people—this is our language—we know where it's at.

What I know, I had to make it, I had to have a determination to go on. And my determination is to be somebody. And that's what I am, because you made me that.

Now, I say to you, you don't need—I heard the gentleman talking tonight, how many polices they got on the force. We don't need that—this is America—this is our country—we don't need that. We're not going to tear the country up because we—we love this country—this is ours. You're not going to burn your house down. You're not going to cut up your suits; throw your shoes in the trash can. It doesn't make sense. This is far more—more dedicated—this is your home, your life.

I just went to Africa. I always wanted to go to Africa, because I wanted to know where my soul come from. The heritage, I wanted to know where it really started. They say I got so much in common; my music even got the drums, the syncopation, the movements, and the style.

Soul singer James Brown, shown at right during one of his numerous musical appearances, called upon Washington's ghetto youths to "cool it" during the recent disorders in the Nation's Capital.

So, I went to Africa and I found people working for $200 a year; $40 a month.

Then I found something else, and do you know, this is one of the minor things that happened out there—America's the greatest country in the world.

Everybody's had their problems. My home's Augusta, Georgia, and you know I had my problems. I know what it means.

But the main thing is you got determination, enough belief and confidence in yourself to go all the way.

Don't leave your kids homeless tomorrow to have to—no place to go back to; and can't go to school, they can't get a formal education. Cutting their lives off.

And the main thing about it; we wanted a hero, so we got one. We didn't get it just like we wanted it, but we got one. So we got something to live for. We got a image to maintain. We got a man. We got a dream. We want a full field.

We can do more with that dream now than he ever did because we know what he meant. He believed in it enough to die for it.

We should have the respect and the dignity for our fellow man, our country, ourself.

To hold that image and maintain it and keep the respect of it.

You know, I'm not a—what we call, around the country, a man that will do anything anybody say, or take sides—what the black man describes as a Tom. I'm not a Tom, I'm a man. Nobody can buy me. I do what I want; I say what I want—because this is America—a man can get ahead here. I tell you I've got ahead, I'm able to speak what I want to say, and say it the way I want to say it.

I say to you, even though I can't stay down here—I wish I could stay—but I'll probably go down the streets to show that I can be a part of it.

Get off the streets. Go home. Take your families home. Look at television, listen to the radio. Or listen to some James Brown records. But get off the streets. Let's go back to our normal functions, and function.

Another thing I'd like to say, "Don't burn; give the kids a chance to learn." "Don't terrorize, but organize."

You know, I wish I could stay down here, but I—I got to go back to Rochester tonight because bad thing that might happen—I hope nothing will happen; I want to prevent it, and talk as much as I can. I know I can't speak for everybody in the world—I can't speak for everybody in this city—but I can tell you one thing, they know where

(Continued on page 13)

The rampaging violence following Dr. King's assassination rocked 150 U.S. cities as hoodlums fanned the flames of America's worst racial outbreak since the Civil War. Above, Pennsylvania National Guardsmen patrol a Pittsburgh street.

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Will Platform Writers Tackle Social Security?

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

Amid the tumult and the shouting, all attention is focused on the three-way stretch in the Democratic party. And with the surprises that keep popping up in this most unlikely political season, the wise ones keep an eye on the Republican party, too. Who knows what Gov. Ronald Reagan may do? Or Gov. Nelson Rockefeller? Or even Richard Nixon?

But presidential campaigns are more than the actions and antics of the candidates. Platforms must be written, carefully tailored to meet the desires of the nominees, the push-pull of party commitments, and the need to promise the voter what the voter seems to want.

One plank that will be hotly debated in the privacy of Platform Committee meetings and then dropped like a hot potato will deal with Social Security. There is no other institution in the federal establishment as universally suspect as the so-called Old Age and Survivors Insurance. The economists know it is a fiscal mess, the politicians realize that it is not doing the job, and millions of contributors are beginning to learn that the more it costs the less it pays out, relatively speaking.

But after what happened to Barry Goldwater in 1964, when he tried to bring these dissatisfactions out into the open, no one cares to pioneer in bringing sense and decency to the Social Security system.

Congressional committees nibble at the problem and independent organizations argue timidly. But the working politician remains convinced that to criticize the sacred cow of Social Security is as healthy as skinny-dipping in Arctic waters.

But is this passionate belief based on fact? I do not think so. Every time I have taken up the cudgel against the inequities and the stupidities of Social Security, the mail has poured in—preponderantly from people of little means who must subsist on what the government doles out. The great bureaucracy that has grown up around Social Security is about the only group satisfied with it.

The National Federation of Independent Business, however, has put aside fear and passion to study one aspect of Social Security. Its findings indicate that unless changes are made in the organization and philosophy of Social Security, things will get worse rather than better. The NFIB points out that a 25-year-old starting work now and paying the maximum Social Security tax has no chance whatsoever of getting his money back in benefits.

The figures are interesting. During the 40 years that the young man and his employer make payments, they will put into the fund $31,294—if the present rate is not drastically upped as it has been over the past decades. If the monthly payments were deposited in a bank at the low interest rate of 4 per cent, at age 65 the man would have $73,275—a tidy sum on which to retire.

To run through this, at the rate that Social Security doles out its "benefits," the man and his wife would have to live to be 98 years old. If the man were single or a widower, interest on the $73,275 would more than make up his monthly maximum payment of $218. As the NFIB sardonically notes, "Even Methuselah, reputed to have lived 969 years, would have been shortchanged by this plan."

Today's 25-year-old and his employer could do much better by investing the money they turn over to the Social Security Administration in a $50,000 cash-value insurance policy. Or, if the money were banked, he could buy an annuity at age 65 with his $73,000 which would pay him $440 a month—or twice what the government will give him on retirement.

Another aspect to the Social Security problem has begun to bother friend and critic alike. Social Security payments are eating up more and more of annual income, with no end in sight. When Social Security was enacted in 1937, it levied 1 per cent of the first $3,000 of annual income, a maximum tax of $30 for both employer and employe.

"Ten years ago, the maximum was $94, three years ago it was $174, and today it is $304," says the NFIB. The current rate is 3.9 per cent of annual income on the first $7,800. It will rise to 5.1 percent within five years—or 10.2 percent when the employer's contribution is added. Last year the Senate tried to raise the tax base to $10,800 by 1972. If the percentage taken from employer and employe remained at 10.2, this would mean a bite of $1,101.60. The effect on the economy of this levy could be crippling.

But neither Congress nor the platform writers think of this. They recall instead the fate of Barry Goldwater and shy from Social Security reform.

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Reuther to Push Campaign to Organize 'Working Poor'

By VICTOR RIESEL

Walter Reuther, grimly enough, is no stranger to the eerie, sickening sound of an assassin's bullets. The "now" generation may not know, and their elders may not recall, that exactly 20 years ago a gunman almost cut the redhead in half.

And so, perhaps, he felt more sharply the sting of the bullet which cut down his close friend, Martin Luther King.

But their affinity springs from more than being stalked by a killer. In recent years they worked together on a common front under the embattled slogan: "Organize the working poor."

It is the way of yesterday's news to fade and die when it's dead and buried. But this time, Walter Reuther, around whom men wept at the report of the murder, may well keep the story from slipping off into yellowing clippings.

There are those around the auto union chief who believe he sees the killing of the black leader as the signal for a massive "community union" drive in the turbulent fire and riot-ravaged central cities.

He believes that American labor has the money and the strength to go into the inner core with thousands of shop stewards, business agents and top union officials to blend the trade union and civil rights campaign into one sweeping drive.

Together, he and Martin Luther King invaded Chicago several years ago on the tenant's union front. The UAW dispatched scores of field organizers and other officials to act as the reverend's advisers, lieutenants and troops in the "rent" offensives.

He believes that the murdered man's objective in Memphis was exactly the same goal they both fought for in Chicago—the blending of the rights drive with the labor movement.

"It's the only way," said one of his most intimate aides, literally weeping, the day after the assassination.

This "dream" of Reuther's will not be well received in many of labor's temples. There—whether in old, one-story brick "taxpayers" structures of the nation's middletowns, or in the marble halls of Washington—trade unionists, old and younger, still say that "Memphis should have been strictly a labor beef."

They still believe that more can be won by straight trade union action, striking hard and bargaining "tough" with the employer in the private or public sector.

But Reuther and his people point to the "working poor" who already have been organized into community unions—a mixture of Hull House, political district club and local union.

The Reuther people point to the Watts Labor Community Action Committee. It was launched back in '64 by 11 unions, led mostly by auto workers, and by a group from UCLA. When the WLCAC wants to mobilize politically, it can. Recently they rounded up a million signatures on a petition for a big county hospital in Watts, since the nearest hospital was some 10 to 15 miles from the Watts area.

They got the votes. They will get the hospital. Some 1,500 of Watts' people will work in it—and already are in training classes preparing to staff it.

They can picket. They did when they wanted to rid the once riot-strewn area of a 25-year-old tire dump, the world's biggest, they say. They picketed peacefully. They got action.

They can't go out to the country, so they brought the hinterland to Watts by setting up a "sizable poultry ranch" in the heart of Watts.

They have mighty tough teen-agers (60 per cent of them are fatherless), so they rounded up experienced union men, each acting as counselor for some 20 to 30 youths—as friend, adviser, group leader and father.

"The way we have been able to put together people in the community," said UAW regional chief Paul Scrade, "is by canvassing the unions that have members in the Watts area. We go through this kind of recruiting program by talking to local union leadership.

"Who from Watts is a leader in your local union? Who looks like he might be a leader? Who are members who might want to get involved? And we have been effective in building a core of people, and then expanding out to the people who are not union members as well, people who are unemployed, who live in the community, and want to participate. . . ."

Thus the Reuther people see it swelling up in the Wattses and Harlems and East Chicagos of the land. Thus, as Martin Luther King and Reuther planned it, they will community-ize and unionize.

They will bargain not only with employers but with landlords on rents, welfare agencies over relief, with the OEO poverty offices for more projects and with the city halls for wider powers for the working poor in the municipal power structures.

And in the rural and urban ghettos, Reuther believes, there wait some 35 million poor.

That's how Martin Luther King saw it too.

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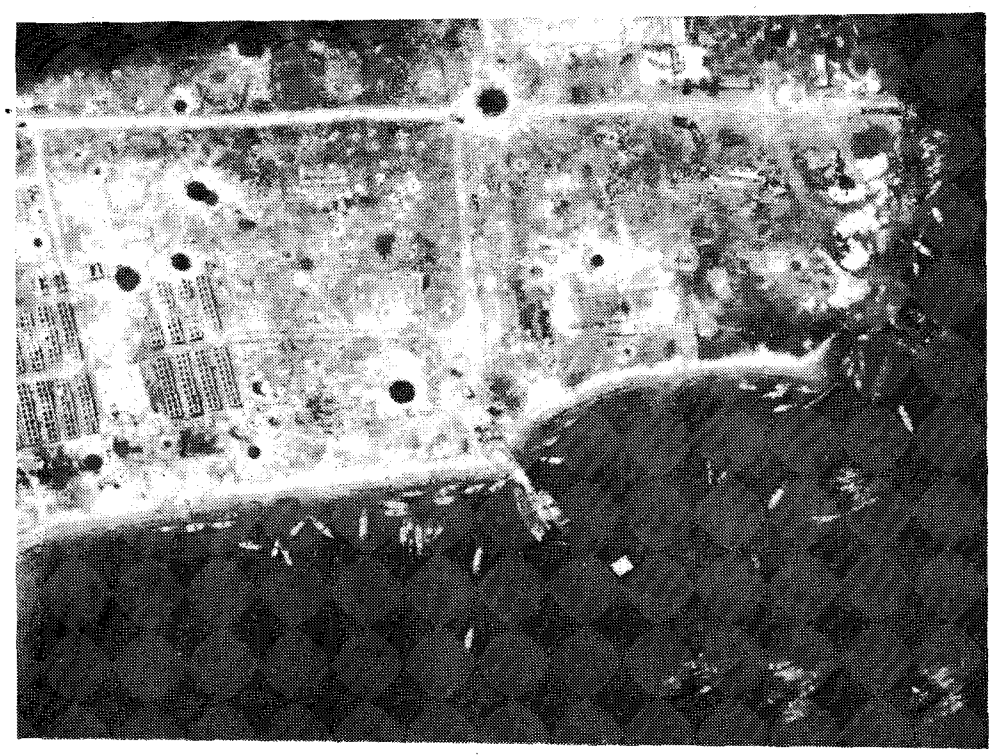

This was the scene at Quang Khe, North Viet Nam, during the last major bombing pause. Vast numbers of barges are shown in the process of transshipping war materials to Red forces in the south, despite U.S. hopes the pause would result in some "de-escalation" of the war by Hanoi.

Does LBJ's Partial Bombing Halt Mean Peace at Almost Any Price?

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

Who's nutty—excuse me, kooky—now?

President Johnson's almost plaintive appeals to Ho to "negotiate peace," his request to Britain and Russia to help restore the conditions of the 1954 agreement that divided what was then Indochina—these convinced most of us that our President had surrendered to the growing flock of peace doves engaged in making his life miserable. The latters' voice, the New York *Times*, spoke of a "stunning reversal." Here was the man who only a short time back in Manila was insisting that any sort of communism, veiled or otherwise, in Viet Nam, would leave no small country safe from further Red aggression!

True, he was still trying to thwart (not defeat, of course) North Viet Nam in as gentle a manner as possible and talking of turning that Communist stronghold into a gentle land, its people well led, literate and happy. But at bottom he still seemed to remember the Alamo.

Then suddenly his new emphasis on peace negotiation convinced doves and hawks, as well, not only in America, that he had accepted a peace-at-almost-any-price policy in Viet Nam.

While appeasers like Senators Fulbright, Mansfield, Cooper, etc., rejoiced, political realists uttered dire predictions concerning the results of the new offer provided Ho was wise enough to accept it.

Over in Saigon, President Thieu darkly warned his worried compatriots that the United States might pull its troops out by the end of the year. Despite all his efforts at mobilizing the military classes that should have been fighting for their country three years ago, Thieu seemed to feel that South Viet Nam might soon be fighting alone or with minor help from South Korea, the Philippines, Australia and perhaps Thailand. He even warned all members of the National Assembly to remain in Saigon where they could attend a coming emergency session to discuss what to do concerning the American "change of policy."

Now, however, it appears that it ain't necessarily so.

Speaking at the SEATO meeting in New Zealand, no less an authority than Dean Rusk assured America's Pacific allies that the coalition government and neutralization of South Viet Nam which appeared to be LBJ's new aims would not be a workable solution to the war.

This of course is precisely what we hawks have been saying since President Kennedy first decided to aid Viet Nam in 1961. Moreover, since the secretary of state also made it clear (for this week at least) that he is not resigning until the end of the President's term of office in January 1969, his voice must be considered authoritative.

But if the President is not really changing his policy, why did he make one more stale appeal to Ho to be reasonable and come to the conference table? Why did he give the impression of a serious unilateral restriction on the bombing of North Viet Nam? Why did he name as possible negotiators with Ho two American peaceniks, Ambassador Tommy Thompson in Moscow and ex-Ambassador Averell Harriman, the latter responsible for the idotic "neutralization" of Laos which made Ho's invasion of South Viet Nam easy?

Why add chaos to confusion? For if the President believes that South Viet Nam should remain non-Communist, he should by this time know that there can be no substitute for victory.

If, on the other hand, he will settle for less, then, in spite of the statement of his secretary of state, why doesn't he stop bombing altogether, get America's defeat over as soon as possible and prepare to face the awesome consequences throughout Southeast Asia and the world?

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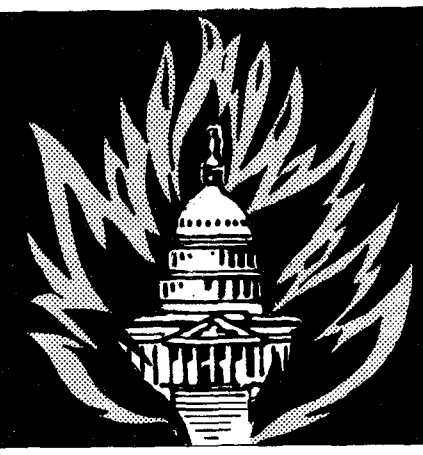

Americans are deeply concerned and confused about the recent outbreak of violence and senseless destruction in many of our major cities. There's a growing fear that things are getting out of control, and we're heading for a complete breakdown of law and order.

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Peaceniks March in London

Trafalgar Square Is Not Quite Hyde Park

The following is a letter from Bruce Barr, a former assistant editor of Human Events. *Mr. Barr, who is on leave from his position with the U.S. Senate Republican Policy Committee, is studying Development Economics at the London School of Economics as the winner of a Congressional Staff Fellowship.*

When I walked down the steps on the west side of Trafalgar Square this afternoon the bird-seed peddlers were doing a booming business. Sixpence buys you a bright little cupful and thousands of demonstrators whiled away the time before the Communist harangues began by feeding the pigeons that sweep down from Nelson's statue. It's been raining on and off all day. The sky is that dark grey that seems to hang over London from September to May.

Last week's storming of the American Embassy by 15,000 anti-American marchers shook English confidence to the bone. It marked the birth of something new on the English scene, a protester who is willing to use violence and feels contempt for earlier, Bertrand Russell-style counterparts who preached passive resistance.

Demonstrations in Britain—unlike Europe—were traditionally governed by rules of "fair play." When I looked around at the bobbies standing in two's and three's about the square, I realized how unequipped they were to deal with today's militancy. England has no *Compagnies Republicaines de Securite* which can unleash a machine-like, unemotional brutality against French demonstrators, nor does it have a paramilitary riot squad like Belgium's *Rijkswacht.*

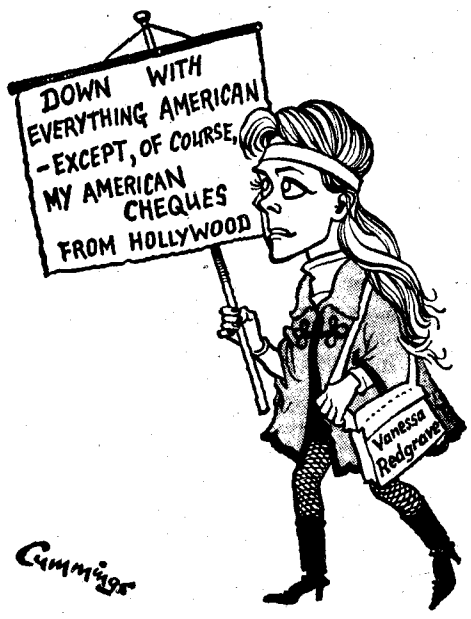
The London bobbie is unarmed, dignified, and singularly ill-prepared to deal with these determined masses of men and women who surged out of The Mall, out of Northumberland Avenue, up from Whitehall, and down Haymarket from Piccadilly into Trafalgar Square.

Not all the demonstrators were English. A band of five French students milled past me dressed in pink and orange slacks, purple shirts with orange ties and scarves, seemingly attempting to surpass anything the English could offer in Carnaby Street fashions.

The meths drinkers—derelicts addicted to methyl alchohol—who normally sit behind the row of shrubbery on the north edge of the square at first snarled at the crowd pushing in around them, then, realizing these were not nannies to be frightened with a scowl, scuttled away like rats in the face of a larger menace. I was getting cold.

Aging radicals were busy trying to hand out their pamphlets—"The Socialist Party of Great Britain"; "The Anarchists' League"; "The Socialist-Labor Union"; but no one was interested in these grey-haired revolutionaries who frightened their parents but to these youths appear soft and flabby and irrelevant in 1968.

Next to me a German girl wearing a Che Guevara badge scorns Russia for its "middle-age" and I wonder what she knows of Guevara. What can she possibly know of the Havana Sports Stadium massacres and still wear that badge?



From the London *Sunday Express*

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A man defends America in accents of Birmingham and the working-class midlands: "Look at this bloody mob, eh? Bloody disgusting, ain't it? That's your modern youth for you innit, eh? Bloody students too, most of 'em. The Yanks is OK. I'd follow them Yanks anywhere, I would. Helped us, dinnit they? Came over here, dinnit they?" His audience, apparently another tourist to London, nods his head and puffing his pipe scurries out of the square, out of the path of trouble.

An elderly Hyde Park orator approached, his billboard held over his head by a pole fixed to a harness on his back. Rain had driven the crowds away from Speaker's Corner across town; the crowds were here; somebody would speak; it probably made sense in his mind to pick up his signs and move where the action is, where the shillings might flow. His banner read:

Political Parties
Are
A Mess
All They Do
Cause
Wars and Mess

He wore a Union Jack-striped hat with a new red sportcoat. He began his ripping attack on political parties, advocating his own, "Peoples' Democratic Party," but this was not Hyde Park and these were not good-natured tourists come to spend a pleasant hour outdoors in the warmth of a summer afternoon. He didn't know it, yet, but he was out of his element here; in the wrong place at the wrong time.

No sooner had he begun to speak than the youths heckled him. He didn't seem worried. He had probably faced thousands of hecklers before. That's what Hyde Park is about. Yet none of his ripostes seemed to work; his jokes, his insults, fell flat. The crowd wouldn't get on his side. This crowd was different.

Across the square men were setting up microphones on the parapet. Some were Pakistanis and Indians. The influence of Tariq Ali, Pakistani ex-president of the Oxford Union, is considerable. As chairman of the Vietnam Solidarity Committee he helped lead last Sunday's skirmish against the American Embassy.

And there are Germans in the crowd, their Lufthansa baggage tickets hanging from their big camera cases. During February's anti-American demonstrations in West Berlin, support of the extreme left-wingers at West Berlin University was obtained. About 60 of them flew to London for last week's riot. The round-trip flight is cheap, $20 in a chartered plane. They are housed in the homes of London School of Economics students, and the Germans are truly awesome in their military precision. An eye-witness account in *Peace News* describes what happened:

"They linked arms, in rows of about 15, about 20 yards from the cordon, and began a kind of dance from one foot to another, chanting 'Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh.' Then they put their heads down and charged slowly, one row after another. The cordon broke when the first row hit. The police obviously had never come up against anything like it."

Up on the podium a guitar player began singing, "We ain't goin' away no more." More signs filled the square, mostly those of Young Communist Leagues from English towns and cities; some from the old "Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament," ostensible sponsor of this demonstration but now caught in the backwash of a stronger, more militant movement far more attractive in its appeal to "moral" violence; an appeal whose strength puzzles many older heads.

One demonstrator, quoted in the *Observer,* explained, "In the old days of Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, everyone cooperated with the police, accepting their directions. There is now a more aggressive mood."

Tariq Ali told the *Sun*, "We were not there [the American Embassy] for a peaceful demonstration. Peace has no part in this crisis. The Americans are criminals and this must be shown to the world."

Someone began chanting, "Up, up, up." I turned around as the cry was taken up by more people, and I could see the grey head of the Hyde Park eccentric being raised above the crowd, now swollen to four or five thousand.

They bore him over their heads to the space below the speakers' platform and yelled, "Speech, speech!" His red jacket was torn at the left shoulder. His hat was lost. He tried to smile, to speak, but the young men and women taunting him drowned out his voice. He looked frightened. He tried to get down. They wouldn't let him.

Above us the TV cameramen swung their cameras down on the scene. It was violence and that's what they were here to cover. They were no longer reporting a pro-Viet Cong demonstration. They and their networks were now covering the angry face of pure violence.

The old man was near me, about 15 feet, yet far away in his orientation in time; probably pre-World War II England when one didn't take this rabble-rousing seriously—all good, clean fun and pick up a tenner from the Yank tourists in the process. Ain't fun no more, baby. Now it's all for real.

The first speaker's voice came through the loudspeakers in bits and snatches over the hoarse roar of the crowd by me teasing the old man. ". . . napalm on the flesh of children is not. . . ." ". . .no nation that calls itself a Republic can treat its minority groups with. . . ."

A second man took his place, delivered his speech (he was a Lord, the youngest member of the House of Lords), then introduced Vanessa Redgrave.

Vanessa Redgrave. Tall (5' 10"), blond and 31. Star of movies like *Camelot* and *Blow-Up,* daughter of a distinguished British theater family, and the girl who wrote to the *Sunday Mirror* today denying she said anyone who did not support the Viet Cong was a fascist.

"The only time I used the word fascist," said Miss Redgrave, "was in a discussion with newspaper reporters when I said I thought that President Johnson's military policy in Viet Nam was fascist."

As Vanessa speaks, I look about at the mob and realize that despite the damp chill, I am warm. It is a freak quirk of body heat that being sandwiched belly to back with thousands of others not only supports you upright, but warms you as well. It is a curious feeling, almost secure, that I have not experienced before. It is also a bit frightening.

There does exist, I now think, that thing we call mob mentality. When this stringy movie actress began to speak the feeling of emotional solidarity in that crowd was thick enough to cut with a knife.

I left, walked up to Piccadilly, and caught the subway home just as it started to rain.

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McCARTHY IN OREGON—Anti-Viet Nam candidate Eugene McCarthy has belatedly set up an organization to win Oregon's May 28 presidential primary. As his finance chairman McCarthy named former Democratic State Chairman Howard Morgan, who lost a 1966 Senate primary running on a "dove" platform similar to McCarthy's. Morgan announced he hopes to raise up to $100,000 for the peacenik presidential candidate. State Democratic regulars scoffed at this sum, saying there was not "really any support" for McCarthy within the party.

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Continued from page 9

James Brown Tells It Like It Is

I come from; in this city—but I can tell you one thing, they know where I come from; they know that I'm a self-made man. They know that nobody holds me up and tells me how to talk, and when to talk, or what to say.

The gentleman asked me about the speech—you know, you asked me, was I going to write my speech. I said, you can't write this. I don't need to write it. I lived it. I don't have to write it. I can tell it like it is.

This is a hard thing—it's hard to digest. We all loved Dr. Martin Luther King. I knew him personally; and he was a fine man. But he's a finer man now because he proved so many things.

You know, in the beginning, Jesus Christ died; the late President Lincoln, he died; President Kennedy, he died; and now Mr. Martin Luther King, he died.

Now, I hope it don't cost no more lives. I hope everybody can understand what's happening now, because now is the time to understand.

I know one thing about it; I'll be doing everything I can to make sure—and I—I might give my life.

You know, you see me work on the stage, you know how hard I work—I'm one of the hardest working men in show business. I got heart trouble. I take pills twice a day. But I've got something from the people—they give me a new life, security, and everything. Now I got a chance to pay it back.

I want you to know there's no money involved—I don't want nothing. Nothing but possession for the state, the country. Upper level for my people. And get them ready. I want you to be Presidents and things. Owners—see we got to get ownership going. Lot of things you want to say—views you want to express all over the place—so you'll have a chance to do it. But you can't do it by blowing up and stealing and looting.

We've gone back a hundred years. One hundred years.

I was a juvenile delinquent, but I was lucky enough to come out of it. But that happened when I was a teen-ager. Didn't have nobody to stand up for me—didn't have no image. You know, when I was a kid, I think I was—I played cowboy—I was like Hopalong Cassidy, Roy Rogers. Everybody was like that, I guess. But it's nice to be like James Brown, too. So now you got somebody living, you got somebody dead to go after that means the right thing.

Let's live for our country. Let's live for ourselves. Please go off the streets.

Like I said before, I'm telling this from my heart. I had—I had three hours sleep, I told you, before I got here. You know I got to go do that show—I got to do the boogaloo and them things. No use my spending my time like this for nothing. Let's get it together. I know we're going to get it together. Right here is where it's at.

I'd like to say one [more] thing . . . June the 12th—June the 3rd, rather—we'll be going to Viet Nam. Now I know there are a lot of you say I shouldn't go out—ship over. This is my duty. I got to go. I got to go because I'm fighting for America—for American men. I'm fighting for the black man to have pride.

Now, I know you've been asked this a million times, go off the street and go home. From one brother to another, go home.

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But Stokely Helps Incite Violence

Speaking at a press conference in Washington, D.C., the morning after the King assassination, racist firebrand Stokely Carmichael tried his best to make worse an already bad situation. Many stores had been looted in the city the night before, but that seemed only to whet Carmichael's appetite for violence. In vivid contrast to the calm and reasonable advice of singer James Brown, here are excerpts from Carmichael's statement Friday morning, April 5:

"I think white America made its biggest mistake when she killed Dr. King last night because when she killed Dr. King last night, she killed all reasonable hope. . . .

"When white America killed Dr. King she opened the eyes of every black man in this country. When white America got rid of Marcus Garvey, she did it and said he was an extremist, he was crazy. When they got rid of brother Malcolm X, they said he was preaching hate, [that] he deserved what he got. [Editor's note: Malcolm X was killed by three Negro assassins, two of whom admitted being Black Muslims. All three were sentenced to life imprisonment.]

" . . . When white America killed Dr. King last night, she declared war on us. There will be no crying and there will be no funeral.

"The rebellions that have been occurring around these cities and this country is just light stuff to what is about to happen.

"We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The execution for those deaths will not be in the courtrooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America.

"The kind of man that killed Dr. King last night made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussion. Black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry since she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael. But when she killed Dr. King, she lost it."

Asked by a reporter, "What do you say to black people who have to die to do what you say?" Carmichael replied:

"That they take as many white people with them as they can. We die every day. We die in Viet Nam for the honkies. Why don't we come home and die in the streets for our people? We die every day. We die cutting and fighting each other inside our own communities. We cut and fight and kill each other off. Let's kill off the real enemies.

"Black people are not afraid to die. We die all the time. We die in your jails. We die in your ghettos. We die in your rat-infested homes. We die a thousand deaths every day. We're not afraid to die because now we're gonna die for our people."

Questioned whether he was declaring war on white Amerca, Carmichael answered:

"White America has declared war on black people. She did so when she stole the first black man from Africa. The black man has been . . . patient, has been resisting—and today the final showdown is coming.

"That is clear. That is crystal clear. And black people are going to have to find ways to survive. The only way to survive is to get some guns. Because that's the only way white America keeps us in check, because she's got the guns."

The last question, asked by a white reporter, was, "Do you fear for your life?" Carmichael replied:

"The hell with my life. You should fear for yours. I know I'm going to die. I know I'm leaving."

After Carmichael finished, Lester McKinnie of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee made a final statement:

"There will be a just fight throughout the United States, so that black brothers and sisters can take off that day as slaves working for the master and think about, realize what the honky is doing to the black people in this country and perhaps then something can be done. That's the end of the press conference."

The widespread looting and fire-bombing began only a few hours later.

DRAFT GIMMICK—"Leftist groups in the Nation's Capital have devised a novel (and apparently legal) gimmick for resisting the draft. Two weeks ago a newly formed coalition of these groups, 'Libertas,' handed out 1,500 leaflets on draft evasion to students at the predominantly Negro Wilson High School here. The leaflets cite Sec. 6 (i) (1) of the Selective Service Act which provides a 'temporary alternative' to the draft. The law entitles full-time high school students to draft deferment until (1) they graduate; (2) they reach age 20; or (3) they leave school, whichever is earliest. Though persons must register with the draft at 18, they cannot be inducted until they are at least 18½. The 'Libertas' leaflets advise: 'Upon or after reaching the age of 16, you drop out of high school. And just before 18½ you return to high school, as is your legal right. Upon your readmission you are free from the draft another two years. . . .' Although 'Libertas' officials refused to give the address of their headquarters, a Washington, D.C., telephone number, listed on the leaflet, can be traced to 681 D St., N.E.—a residence occupied by several persons including William Higgs, an attorney with a record of involvement in civil rights cases who said recently he is now a 'political and legal advisor' of Black Power militant Stokely Carmichael. Justice Department officials, informed of the 'Libertas' campaign, concede it is legal."—Fulton Lewis III in *Exclusive*

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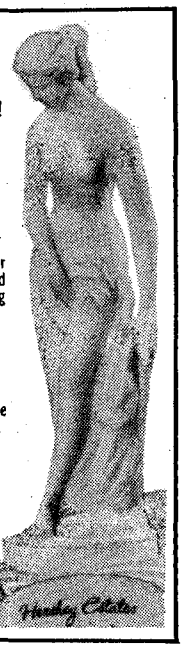

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The Warren Court Again

Midland County Decision Called Reckless Activism

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

This is the unpredictable season, not only for politicians but for judges as well. But one repeats. Only a few weeks ago Justice Hugo Black was calling for strict construction and judicial restraint, and Justice Abe Fortas was suggesting that activism has its merits. How's that again?

In last week's Midland County case, Black joined the 5-to-3 majority in a piece of reckless judicial activism that evidenced all the finesse of a bulldozer plunging downhill. Fortas, of all people, filed a dissent that reflected the finest elements of conservative jurisprudence. A critic of the Warren Court, searching for a classic example to illustrate its excesses, scarcely could do better than to cite the majority's needless and wrong decision of April 1.

It is an ancient rule of the high tribunal that the court should proceed delicately in political matters; this was a political matter, but the majority proceeded into these thickets with the delicacy of lumbermen hauling out logs.

It is an ancient rule of the high tribunal that the court should not consider an appeal in any case that has not been finally decided in the state courts down below. The Midland County case had not been so decided.

Still a third rule is that the Supreme Court should avoid sweeping pronouncements of constitutional law if such pronouncements are not truly required. In the Midland County case, the majority tossed this rule out the window.

A fourth rule of jurisprudence, eloquently defended by Black in his recent Columbia lectures, is that the "intention of the framers" is of paramount importance in construing the Constitution. There is not one scintilla of evidence to suggest that the men who framed the 14th Amendment, back in 1866, ever dreamed that "equal protection of the laws" would be applied as the majority applied it here.

Midland County, Tex., has a population of 70,000 persons, of whom 67,000 live within the corporate limits of Midland City and 2,094 live in the 900 square miles of sagebrush beyond. For all practical purposes, as Fortas made clear, the city proper is governed by its own local government, locally elected. City residents, by reason of their overwhelming numbers, also control the countywide election of an assessor, a collector, a county attorney, sheriff, treasurer, county clerk, surveyor and county judge.

But there is one other unit of government, the Midland County Commissioners Court, composed of four members. The city elects one member; the other three come from rural districts of 852, 828 and 414 persons respectively. In theory, the four commissioners have certain legislative powers for the county as a whole; in actual fact, as Fortas made clear, their powers are rigidly circumscribed by state law. Virtually the whole of the commissioners' authority deals with the building of rural roads and bridges.

A majority of the Supreme Court would not look at this reality. In Fortas' stinging rebuke, his brothers were more concerned with "shibboleth than substance." The majority were determined to apply the ideology of "one man, one vote," willy-nilly, regardless of equity or common sense.

Thus it was decreed that each of the four commissioners hereafter must represent approximately 17,000 persons. Nothing else will do. And if such an edict should deprive the 2,094 country dwellers of a voice in the decisions that most closely affect them, too bad! By the Wonderland rules of the Warren Court, they are getting equal protection.

The principle just extended by the majority is to apply to 81,000 units of local government across the nation, or to such of them as may hold some general legislative power. These units vary enormously in their authority and constituency. Every wise and prudent concept of government suggests that no "rigid, theoretical and authoritarian approach" should be taken to them. But that is precisely the approach adopted last week by the high court's doctrinaire apostles of one man, one vote. Equal justice under law? Tell it to the Midland County farmers!

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TRANSLATION, PLEASE—"Former Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara tried his Vietnamese out on some of the people who speak it. He didn't know of the tonal differences and the words he spoke—intended to mean 'Viet Nam for 1,000 years'—came out, 'the duck wants to lie down.'"—From *Parade*

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The Discordant Voices of Big Brother

FDA vs. Agriculture Department on worth of vitamins

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Big Brother—meaning the government—may be getting set to tell you what to do about vitamins, which the Food and Drug Administration has decided you don't need to bother with in capsule form. What the FDA is saying is that "vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts by commonly available foods." It hopes to get this pasted on every bottle of vitamin pills that is sold in this country, with the additional statement that "except for persons with special medical needs, there is no scientific basis for recommending routine use of dietary supplements."

Now this is all very funny, for the Department of Agriculture, which is another arm of Big Brother, has recently put out a statement that half the families in America subsist on a diet that is deficient in recommended amounts of vitamins and minerals. And 20 per cent of the U.S. people eat foods that are two-thirds short of the necessary levels. How is the FDA going to direct them to the right foods?

Consulting a report put out by a third body of experts, the American Medical Association, you can get a grisly story of what happens to the average woman of child-bearing age if she eats her normal number of 2,100 calories of food a day. This recommended number of calories would keep a male perfectly healthy. But it so happens that a child-bearing woman needs more iron that her husband. She needs 20 daily milligrams of iron, but a regimen of 2,100 calories per day contains only 13 milligrams. The result, according to the AMA, is that 10 per cent of the women of child-bearing age are anemic.

The Food and Drug Administration might counter with an argument that child-bearing women are "persons with special medical needs," but taken altogether they must add up to between a fourth and a third of the population. Nothing very special about that. If they aren't getting enough iron, the proposed Food and Drug Administration label telling people that "vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts by commonly available foods" would be a plain lie for a big portion of the human race.

In pursuit of clarification in these matters, I asked a nutritionist if a special supplement of spinach might save those anemic women. The answer shed a curious light on the FDA statement that "vitamins and minerals are supplied in abundant amounts in commonly available foods."

True enough, there's a lot of iron in spinach. But the story I got is that it can't be extracted for nutritive purposes. This means that spinach is a fake as a food, just as I always suspected. And Popeye, incidentally, must be getting his iron out of something else. It's probably those nails he chews.

Still seeking clarification, I asked the nutritionist, "What about liver? That has iron." Oh yes, said my expert, you can get enough iron from three-quarters of a pound of liver a day. But if all our child-bearing women were to eat this much liver there wouldn't be any left for the males, who would soon become anemic in their turn.

My reason for going into all this is that I have an unshakeable conviction that the less that governments have to do with directing people in sumptuary matters—and a lot of other matters, too—the better off everybody would be.

Politicians aren't experts. They don't know how to assemble experts. They go crusading against dietary pills when the enemy is not the pill but the quack doctor. They propose a label that would direct anemic women to spinach when they should be listening to the child in the cartoon who said, "I say it's spinach, and I say the hell with it."

Big Brother, go away. I don't go much for vitamin pills, for I prefer beefsteaks. But if I want a bit of vitamin C when I feel a cold coming on, is it your business to tell me to eat oranges? I like to live in a country which pays me the compliment of assuming that I can make up my own mind.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

The King Tragedy

By SEN. ROBERT BYRD (D.-W. Va.)

I was not an admirer of Dr. Martin Luther King, but I regret, as much as any senator regrets, the tragedy that befell him, and I feel sorrow for his family. I was shocked but I was not surprised at what happened, because of the tension that existed in Memphis. Now it has happened, and it is a tragic thing. I fear that bad matters may only be made worse, that old hatreds may be rekindled, new hatreds may be born, more blood may be spilled, and more lives may be taken.

Why cannot our people revere and respect and obey the laws of the country which gave most of us birth and which we all should love?

There is a lesson to be drawn from what happened in Memphis and from what has been happening with increasing intensity throughout the nation in recent years. That is, that mass protests, and the like—whether labeled nonviolent or otherwise—can only serve to encourage unrest and disorder, and to provoke violence and bloodshed.

And, in the end, those who advocate such methods often become, themselves, the victims of the forces they themselves have set in motion.

This, in a manner, is what happened to Dr. King. He usually spoke of nonviolence. Yet violence all too often attended his actions. And, at the last, he himself met a violent end.

There are those who will believe that his death in Memphis was for a just cause. Yet, even in fighting for a just cause, one must pursue his course with reason, with due regard for the public welfare and good order, and with due respect for the law.

Make Backers Pay

By REP. HENRY SCHADEBERG (R.-Wis.)

Tax-free foundations furnishing funds for radical civil rights and "black power" leaders whose actions lead to rioting, death and property damage, should be held liable for the costs. If automobile manufacturers can be held liable for death and destruction as the result of malfunctioning cars; if airlines can be held responsible for pilot errors; if producers of consumer items can be held liable for death or injury resulting from improperly manufactured household items, there is no reason on earth, in my opinion, why the wealthy, tax-free institutions and other organizations, which now enjoy a special privilege in our economy should not be held liable if the funds they distribute to groups and individuals lead to death and destruction.

Change Policies

By REP. CHARLES WIGGINS (R.-Calif.)

To those who cry in despair, "Something must be done to end bigotry in America," we should answer, "The Congress agrees, but look to your state government." And, if the reply is heard that state government is not responsive to the needs of the people, we should have the courage to say: "Change the policies of your state government."

The Constitution guarantees to all Americans equal political power to affect the actions of their government. Congress has appropriately implemented that power by legislation. It is the political power thus created—rather than raw force—which must be the vehicle to accomplish social change. If Congress preempts powers properly reserved to the states, state government and the federal system as a viable structure shall die. I view private acts of discrimination as no greater evil than the emasculation of the federal system contemplated in this [just-passed civil rights] bill.

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House Passes 1968 Rights Bill

Following is the 229-to-195 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on April 10 blocked a move to send the Senate-passed 1968 Civil Rights bill, with its controversial open-housing section, to a House-Senate conference committee. A later tally sealed the liberal victory on a 250-to-171 rollcall vote, but the conference committee vote, which insured passage of the bill, was considered the key rollcall. Provisions of the 1968 bill were outlined in the Legislative Boxscore section of the March 23, 1968, issue of Human Events. In the rollcall below an "aye" vote supports the Administration position in opposition to the motion to send the bill to conference. (For more on this vote, see page 3.)

DEMOCRATS FOR: 152

Adams
Addabbo
Albert
Annunzio
Ashley
Barrett
Bingham
Blatnik
Boggs
Boland
Bolling
Brademas
Brasco
Brooks
Brown (Calif.)
Burke (Mass.)
Burton (Calif.)
Byrne (Pa.)
Carey
Celler
Cohelan
Conyers
Corman
Culver
Daddario
Daniels
Dawson
Dent
Diggs
Donohue
Dow
Dulski
Eckhardt
Edwards (Calif.)
Eilberg
Evans (Colo.)
Fallon
Farbstein
Fascell
Feighan
Flood
Foley
Ford, Wm.
Fraser
Friedel
Fulton (Tenn.)
Gallagher
Garmatz
Giaimo
Gilbert
Gonzalez
Gray
Green (Ore.)
Green (Pa.)
Griffiths
Hamilton
Hanley
Hanna
Hansen (Wash.)
Hathaway
Hawkins
Hays
Hechler (W. Va.)
Helstoski
Hicks
Holifield
Holland
Howard
Irwin
Jacobs
Joelson
Johnson (Calif.)
Karth
Kastenmeier
Kazen
Kee
Kelly
Kirwan
Kluczynski
Kyros
Leggett
Long (Md.)
McCarthy
McFall
Macdonald (Mass.)
Madden
Matsunaga
Meeds
Miller (Calif.)
Minish
Mink
Monagan
Moorhead
Morgan
Morris
Moss
Murphy (Ill.)
Murphy (N.Y.)
Nedzi
Nix
O'Hara (Ill.)
O'Hara (Mich.)
Olsen
O'Neill (Mass.)
Ottinger
Patten
Pepper
Perkins
Philbin
Pickle
Pike
Podell
Price (Ill.)
Rees
Resnick
Reuss
Rhodes (Pa.)
Rodino
Rogers (Colo.)
Ronan
Rooney (N.Y.)
Rooney (Pa.)
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roush
Roybal
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Scheuer
Shipley
Sisk
Slack
Smith (Iowa)
Staggers
Stratton
Sullivan
Tenzer
Thompson (N.J.)
Tiernan
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vanik
Vigorito
Waldie
Wilson, Charles
Wolff
Yates
Young
Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 77

Anderson (Ill.)
Andrews (N.D.)
Ayres
Bates
Bell
Betts
Biester
Broomfield
Brotzman
Brown (Mich.)
Brown (Ohio)
Button (N.Y.)
Cahill
Cleveland
Conable
Conte
Corbett
Cowger
Cunningham
Dellenback
Dwyer
Erlenborn
Esch
Eshleman
Findley
Frelinghuysen
Fulton (Pa.)
Goodell
Grover
Gude
Halpern
Harvey
Heckler (Mass.)
Horton
Keith
Kleppe
Kupferman
McClory
McCloskey
McCulloch
McDade
McDonald (Mich.)
MacGregor
Mailliard
Mathias (Md.)
Meskill
Michel
Mize
Moore
Morse
Mosher
Nelsen
O'Konski
Pelly
Pirnie
Quie
Railsback
Reid (N.Y.)
Reifel
Riegle
Robison
Rumsfeld
Ruppe
Sandman
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Smith (N.Y.)
Stafford
Stanton
Steiger (Wis.)
Taft
Whalen
Widnall
Wyatt
Wydler
Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 89

Abbitt
Abernethy
Anderson (Tenn.)
Andrews (Ala.)
Aspinall
Baring
Bennett
Bevill
Blanton
Brinkley
Burleson
Cabell
Casey
Clark
Colmer
Davis (Ga.)
de la Garza
Delaney
Dingell
Dorn
Dowdy
Downing
Edmondson
Edwards (La.)
Everett
Evins (Tenn.)
Fisher
Flynt
Fountain
Fuqua
Galifianakis
Gathings
Gettys
Gibbons
Griffin
Hagan
Haley
Hardy
Hebert
Henderson
Herlong
Hull
Hungate
Ichord
Jarman
Jones (Ala.)
Jones (N.C.)
Kornegay
Landrum
Lennon
Long (La.)
McMillan
Machen
Mahon
Marsh
Mills
Montgomery
Natcher
Nichols
O'Neal (Ga.)
Passman
Patman
Pool
Pryor
Pucinski
Purcell
Randall
Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Rogers (Fla.)
Satterfield
Selden
Sikes
Steed
Stephens
Stubblefield
Stuckey
Taylor
Teague (Tex.)
Tuck
Waggonner
Walker
Watts
White
Whitener
Whitten
Willis
Wright

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 106

Adair
Arends
Ashbrook
Battin
Belcher
Berry
Blackburn
Bolton
Bow
Bray
Brock
Broyhill (N.C.)
Broyhill (Va.)
Buchanan
Burke (Fla.)
Burton (Utah)
Bush
Byrnes (Wis.)
Carter
Cederberg
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen, Don
Clawson, Del
Collier
Cramer
Curtis
Davis (Wis.)
Denney
Derwinski
Devine
Dickinson
Dole
Duncan
Edwards (Ala.)
Ford, Gerald
Gardner
Goodling
Gross
Gubser
Gurney
Hall
Halleck
Hammerschmidt
Hansen (Idaho)
Harrison
Harsha
Hosmer
Hunt
Hutchinson
Johnson (Pa.)
Jonas
Kuykendall
Kyl
Laird
Langen
Latta
Lipscomb
Lloyd
Lukens
McClure
Martin
Mathias (Calif.)
May
Mayne
Miller (Ohio)
Minshall
Morton
Myers
Pettis
Poff
Pollock
Price (Tex.)
Quillen
Reid (Ill.)
Reinecke
Rhodes (Ariz.)
Roudebush
Saylor
Schadeberg
Scherle
Scott
Shriver
Skubitz
Smith (Calif.)
Smith (Okla.)
Snyder
Springer
Steiger (Ariz.)
Talcott
Teague (Calif.)
Thompson (Ga.)
Thomson (Wis.)
Utt
Vander Jagt
Wampler
Watkins
Watson
Whalley
Wiggins
Williams
Wilson, Bob
Winn
Wylie
Wyman
Zion

Paired for:
King (D)

Paired against:
Ashmore (D)

NOT VOTING: 8

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• Action on a **tax surcharge and cut in federal spending** now rests squarely in the hands of the House of Representatives, particularly the Appropriations and Ways and Means Committees. The Senate, which is constitutionally ineligible to initiate tax legislation, tacked an amendment onto a House-passed excise tax bill which called for a 10 per cent tax hike and a $6-billion cut in Administration spending. House members claim the Senate overstepped its bounds, but the upper chamber's action may have provided the stimulus for House action. House Appropriations Committee Chairman Rep. George Mahon (D.-Tex.) is now working out a bill which would reduce the budget from $4 to $6 billion in spending immediately and from $8 to $14 billion in new appropriations for fiscal 1969; House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Rep. Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) would then inaugurate action on a tax surcharge measure. The Administration, meanwhile, desperately wants the tax boost, but is still unwilling to accept a major spending reduction.

• The Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers is continuing hearings related to a bill sponsored by Sen. Robert Griffin (see last week's Human Events) to **abolish the National Labor Relations Board** (S. 1353). Griffin's measure would substitute a 15-member body, similar to the U.S. Tax Court, to rule on labor-management disputes. Organized labor has pegged defeat of such a bill as one of its major legislative goals.

• The **Internal Security bill** (S. 2988), introduced by Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Sen. James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.), is the subject of continuing hearings before the committee's Subcommittee on Internal Security. The bill, co-sponsored by 10 Republicans and nine Democrats, would ban Communists from defense facilities and federally funded schools and would create a federal Security Administration to investigate and evaluate government personnel security cases; another provision would extend the statute of limitations in cases of treason, espionage, sabotage, sedition and subversive activities.

• Viet Nam critic Sen. J. William Fulbright (D.-Ark.) has said his Senate Foreign Relations Committee will hold no further hearings on the Administration's **foreign aid authorization bill** (S. 3091) until Defense Secretary Clark Clifford agrees to testify. Fulbright had also insisted on testimony from Secretary of State Dean Rusk, an appearance resulting in two days of repetitive Viet Nam debate; Clifford, who took office March 1, says he is unprepared to testify at this time. Military assistance accounts for roughly $420 million of the $2.9 billion the Administration has requested for foreign spending in fiscal 1969.

• The House has deferred action on the Administration's controversial **foreign travel tax** proposal (a levy on Americans' foreign spending in excess of $7 per day), but has sent to the Senate another bill (HR 16241) embodying other proposals aimed at reducing U.S. citizens' overseas spending. One provision is a permanent 5 per cent tax on tickets for airline flights abroad; this charge is expected to add some $95 million in government revenues per year. The other item is a reduction in tourists' duty-free purchases abroad, from $100 to $10 until October 1969, when the exemption will be raised permanently to $50; for articles exceeding that limit, a duty of 10 per cent of retail value would be levied. Meanwhile, House Ways and Means Chairman Mills says he will continue to push for LBJ's travel tax plan.

• The Senate Judiciary Committee is making some progress in deliberations on President Johnson's **Safe Streets and Crime Control Act** (HR 5037). The committee has rejected a House-passed, Administration-opposed provision which would have the government make grants for crime fighting improvements directly to states, to be used at their discretion. As revised by the Senate committee, grants will be made to communities at federal discretion. However, the Senate group added another amendment which the White House did not want—provision for police use of wiretapping to investigate major crimes. The committee must still act on an amendment, sponsored by Democratic Senators McClellan (Ark.) and Ervin (N.C.), allowing courts to accept voluntary confessions as trial evidence.

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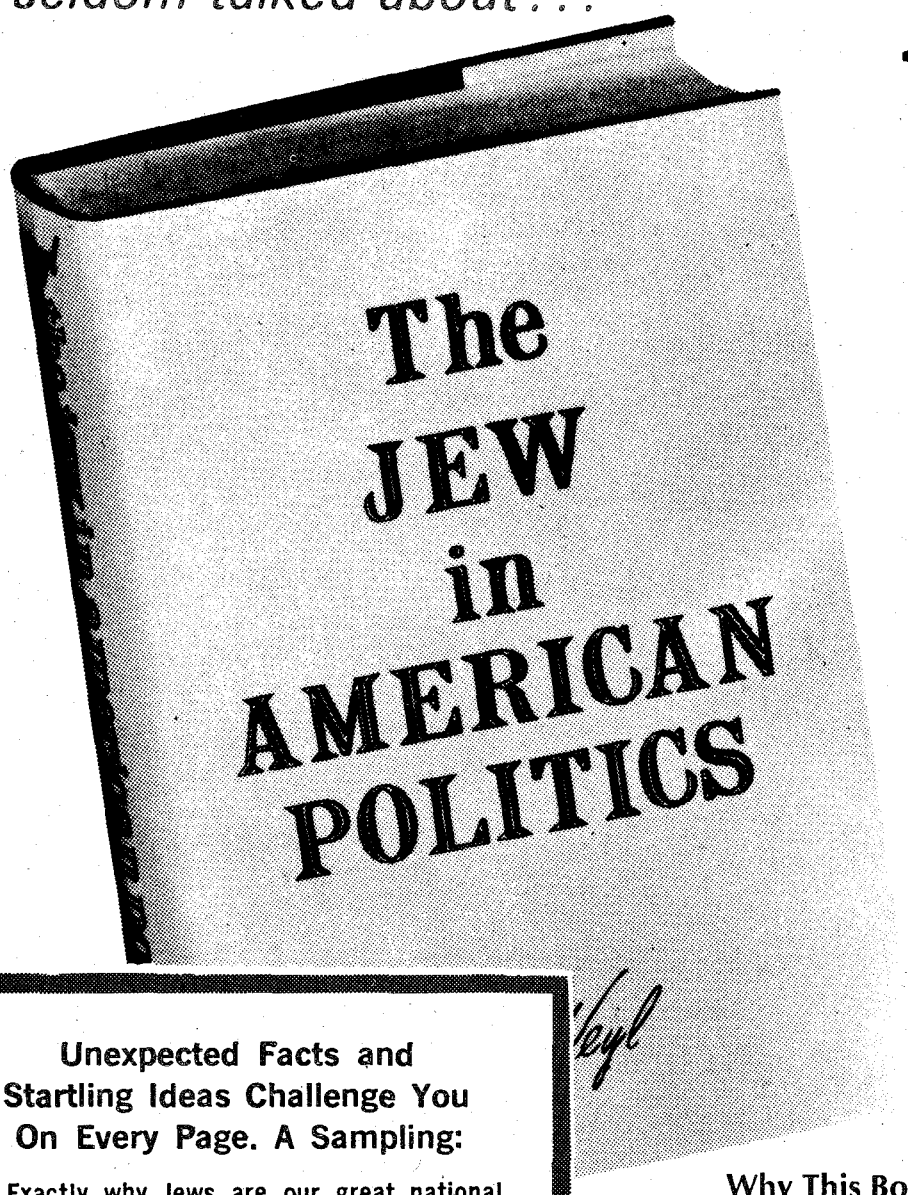

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- American Jewish Committee and its brittle assumptions about "prejudice." Weyl's own clear-eyed view. Startling findings of Bettelheim and Janowitz: why don't they shake up the AJC and its followers?
- Is the John Birch Society anti-Semitic? Surprising figures on Jewish support of the Birch Society.
- Statistical sampling of pro- and anti-Jewish feeling among Protestants, Catholics, Negroes, labor; by age, sex and education; by section of the country.
- Surprise for intellectuals: the one group that stood by Goldwater.
- Dirty pool from the ADL. Its treatment of Fred Schwarz and his Christian Anti-Communism Crusade. Survey of Schwarz followers gives the lie to Epstein-Forster-ADL innuendoes. Weyl raises the ultimate question about the ADL.
- Jewish radicalism and Jewish fear of anti-Semitism: the important relationship.
- Middle East panorama: as Communism and socialism grow, so grows anti-Semitism.
- Who are the anti-Semites? Class differences between German and American anti-Semites. Do anti-Semites manifest an "authoritarian personality"? Bettelheim on why Jews prefer to reduce the anti-Semite to a stereotype.
- What national groups make the best Americans? How **Fortune** poll ranks 7 prominent groups.
- Rise of Negro anti-Semitism — played down by ADL. Why merchants "overcharge" the Negro. What happened when one Jewish group did **not** move out of its neighborhood when Negroes moved in.
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